
HISTORICAL MEMOIRS
AND
ANECDOTES
OF THE
COURT OF FRANCE,
g.c. g.c. ' ' ' ' ' '

HISTORICAL MEMOIRS

AND

ANECDOTES

OF THE

COURT OF FRANCE,

DURING THE FAVOR OF

MADAME DE POMPADOUR;

WITH EXPLANATIONS OF TWELVE ENGRAVINGS,
'EXECUTED BY HERSELF, &c. &c.

*Representing the principal Events of the Reign of
Louis the XVth,*

FROM ORIGINAL PAPERS PRESERVED IN THE PORT-FOLIO OF
MADAME LA MARÉCHALE D***.

—
BY J. L. SOULAVIE, THE ELDER,

AUTHOR OF THE HISTORICAL MEMOIRS OF THE REIGN OF
LOUIS THE XVth.

"If the strength of a nation consists in men who are to be depended on by their wisdom, their foresight, and their impartiality, it also ought to be considered that their morals are not of less importance, and that corruption must ever be looked upon as a principal cause of the downfall and ruin of Nations."

Of Civil Society,

By Adam Ferguson.

Art. 6, Ch. 1

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TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

THE volume now presented to the Public, in an English dress, will need no other introduction to recommend it to notice, than the far-famed name of Pompadour.

With diffidence the Translator submits his attempt to the British Public, relying not on the merits of his own execution, but on that candor which has ever distinguished their decisions.

He trusts the original Work has not altogether suffered in his hands, and hopes he will not be found in any one instance to have perverted the meaning of the Author.

From the Narrative much information is to be derived, as the causes of the French Revolution are traced to their source; whilst it proves Madame de Pompadour to have been the chief actor in paving the way to that important event.

Never was woman so celebrated by her skill in artifice and intrigue, and in governing a weak Monarch, heedless of consequences, and regardless of justice. Avarice and the love of empire were her sole and ruling passions.

Her history presents to the world a moral picture, highly and universally interesting and important. It demonstrates that power and splendor are but poor substitutes for the testimony of a good conscience. It admonishes Princes what they ought not to be, and Nations what they ought not to endure; whilst it shews their Rulers how insecure and unsteady are the

most seemingly consolidated foundations of power, - when corruption and speculation mark, in the Government, a total disregard to the interest of the Subject. It proves how a Prince, though, like Louis the XVth, naturally of a good disposition, when he gives himself up to a boundless gratification of his looser desires, and to a thorough abandonment of all morality, may bring on, even in the most attached people, a hatred, contempt and detestation of Monarchy, and the very name of Royalty. What an awful warning to the remaining Governments of Europe, at this momentous and truly terrific crisis !

O you, who preside over the fate of Nations, look here and behold ! Behold what are the dreadful consequences of selfishness, extortion and oppression in the Governors ; and of distress, discontent and resentment in the governed.

Not merely, therefore, as an amusing book, and as a detail of facts, but as an instructive and powerfully impressive example to Governments, these Memoirs are presented to the British Public.

DEDICATORY EPISTLE

TO THE

Sovereigns of Europe.

THE History of the Court of France, during the favor of Madame de Pompadour, is the most useful present that modern literature can make to the Governments of Europe.

The present Work proves how much the recent misfortunes of France are connected with the history of Madame de Pompadour. Trained up by a depraved mother, for the purpose of corrupting a Prince naturally religious and virtuous, and endowed with the qualities requisite in good Princes, she succeeded in enslaving and degrading him.

An enemy to the Established Religion of the Nation, she was ever the protectress, and the rallying point of its adversaries.

The Royal Family, whose interests were in opposition to her own, were set at variance by her intrigues.

By nature excluded from all the public pageantry of the throne, and from the éclat of military command, she inspired the Prince with a disgust for those ceremonies which were indispensably necessary to the splendor of the Monarchy.

Jealous of favours that might eventually be granted to her rivals, her machinations to dissuade the King, surpass imagination.

Privately detested by the Royal Family, the Clergy, the Nobility of the State, and by every virtuous person in France; despised by our allies, abroad; she broke through all our most ancient treaties, to go in search of new alliances.

She changed the whole system of European diplomacy, and obliged all the Ambassadors to become her courtiers.

Characterized by the great and ingenious Benedict the XIVth, who in a few words appreciated and estimated her for what she was, she had the assurance to endeavour to prove to all Europe that she was a Christian, by negotiating with one of the heads of a very celebrated religious society for an absolution, to enable her to perform her Easter devotions; and she punished the refusal of one of the members of that society to give her that absolution, by the irrevocable abolition of the whole fraternity.

Religion, History, and Philosophy united, now proclaim her to have been the curse of a great and powerful Nation.

O you! for whom the study of our Revolution is now become a duty, it is for you also I publish these Memoirs. The favor and influence of Madame de Pompadour was one of the causes of our misfortunes.

ANÉCDOTES
OF THE
COURT OF FRANCE,
 &c. &c.

CHAPTER I.

Birth of Jané Poisson ; her education ; her abilities ; anecdotes of her parents.—Monsieur Le Normant d'Etioles falls in love with her, and marries her.—Brilliant society of Madame d'Etioles, at Paris.—Portrait of the Abbé de Bernis.—Original designs of her mother, Madame Poisson, to make her daughter the mistress of Louis the XVth.—The conduct of Madame d'Etioles in consequence ; she follows the King to his hunting parties, in the Forest of Sennar.—Jealousy of the Duchess of Châteauroux, the reigning favorite.

JANE POISSON was born in 1722 the daughter of a Clerk attached to the Commissariat of the Army, under one of the four brothers Paris, who had the principal manage-

ment of that department. Her mother was celebrated for her gallantries; M. M. Paris and le Normant disputed, for a long time, the title of father to *her* whose history is written in this work. Madame de Poisson had that freedom of manners which the women of gallantry, of those days, had imbibed from the looseness of conduct, which reigned in France, during the regency of Philip of Orleans. M. Le Normant, notwithstanding this disputed title, was so persuaded that he was the father of the young Poisson, that he took on himself and fulfilled, with the greatest care, the duties which this title imposed on him; he superintended the education of this child, with a degree of passion which encreased, as he found her genius expand, and saw her possessed of the highest abilities, for the study of the fine arts. Mademoiselle Poisson, from an early age, was remarkable for her talents in music, drawing, engraving on copper, and on gems; her progress in the latter art was such, that the productions of her graver have since been compared to the choicest prints, in the light and amusing stile.

At the age of eighteen, she was admired for both her beauty and her figure; the former of which was truly dazzling, when in full dress; this exquisite beauty was softened into the simplicity of an interesting countenance, when occupied in conversing on those topics that had made her mistress of her education; and the change was so marked, that it was proverbially said of her, in the circle she lived in from the time of her marriage, that she was at the same time beautiful and engaging, qualities which are rarely to be found in the same woman, and which, in some respects, reciprocally exclude each other.

The tenderness of M. Le Normant de Tourneham daily increased, as this interesting creature grew older, and he resolved to marry her in a manner that should leave no doubt of his loving her as his daughter, which determination soon brought round her a swarm of admirers, of the most respectable citizens of the capital.

The young le Normant d'Etioles, nephew

to the person who figured under the character of her father, entered the list : the free access he had to the house, as a near relation, procured him frequently the pleasure of seeing Mademoiselle Poisson ; and he was not long before he felt a sincere affection for her, which his uncle was far from disapproving ; the young lover was of a mild disposition, gentle passions, with good sense and a good heart, and it has since been said, that M. de Tourneham, had long before formed the plan of placing his daughter in the bed of the King, and that no other individual had appeared to him more adapted, than his nephew, to endure with patience the metamorphosis of a wife, into the mistress of Louis XV. All the difficulty consisted in obtaining the consent of the father of Le Normant, who found many objectional circumstances against this marriage. The name and the family of Mademoiselle Poisson formed the principal difficulties ; for her father, who had been prosecuted for his conduct, and his dishonesty in his official situation, had been condemned to be hanged, and had for years been a fugitive and an exile in a foreign country ;

and although by a second sentence the first had been annulled, yet still an everlasting stain was attached to his name.

Her mother, a very coarse and vulgar bourgeoisie of Paris, contemplating the charming features of her daughter, was perpetually repeating, from the moment she brought her into the world, that she would make her "a morsel for a King," so that Mademoiselle Poisson, brought up in this manner, heard herself from her tenderest infancy, called "a morsel for a King."

Notwithstanding these difficulties, the tender affection of M. de Tourneham, for the young Poisson, soon overcame those obstacles which seemed to form an insurmountable barrier to the passion, and the views of his nephew. Nothing remained but to get the consent of the father of the young man. Monsieur Le Normant promised, in the first place, to give the half of his property to the young husband, immediately on the marriage, and to leave him the other half after his death. This

generosity determined the father of the young man as to the conduct he should adopt, for he began to fear, if he hesitated at giving his consent, that these good things would go with the girl into some other family; and this fear, joined to the pressing entreaties and solicitations of his son, at last made him listen to, and accept the proposition. Mademoiselle Poisson became Madame le Normant d'Etioles.

It does not appear, however, that her heart had been much consulted in this connexion. M. d'Etioles was a little man, with a face neither handsome or dignified; she was any thing but in love with him, who felt the sincerest affection, and the most ardent passion for her, which, even marriage did not diminish the force of. In these circumstances, Madame d'Etioles, who lived quite in the gay world, did not seem by any means to correspond with his feelings, or to make him a suitable return for the endeavours he used to please her. His handsome income enabling him to enter into great expences, he spared for nothing either

in dress or in amusements, to prove to her the excess of his affliction.

Although her personal charms were such as would have inspired a lover with jealousy, particularly a husband as much in love with his wife as he was ; yet he granted her every degree of liberty she could wish for ; he was attentive to invite and get together the most witty and entertaining society, of all Paris, to his house ; a society of which she always formed the principal ornament, as well by the natural gaiety of her disposition, as by the charms of her beauty, and of her talents.

There ever have been, in Paris, women who, either from their beauty, or intriguing disposition, have served as a kind of centre in the capital, and who have drawn round them not only all the men of talents, but all those who had *private or ambitious views to answer*. It is said that Louis the XIVth. who had succeeded in silencing his detractors, that he might oblige his subjects to admire him, feared nothing so much as the conversation

and the opinions of these circles. That of Madame de Pompadour, shortly after her marriage, was composed of Voltaire, Calusac, Fontenelle, Montesquieu, the Abbé de Bernis, Mauvertuis, and other illustrious characters.

The foreign ambassadors were also of her parties; but the most celebrated, and the most assiduous of the admirers of her beauty, was the gallant Abbé de Bernis; who afterwards became, through the interest of his patroness, Minister of Foreign Affairs, in spite of those obstacles which were long thought insurmountable, and which he had to struggle with, throughout the whole course of his advancement. In fact, the Abbé de Bernis was neither attached to the Jesuits or the Sulpiciens; the first had discarded him from their convent, in his native province, and he had come to Paris, not knowing to what saint to address his prayers, to forward his fortune. He had, on his first arrival in the capital, lived so obscurely, and in such great distress, that his washerwoman had ser-

ved him in the double quality of *housewife and mistress; but he had an infinite share of wit, a very pretty figure, and a set of features calculated for conquering Madame de Pompadour, to whom he managed to get himself introduced, she called him her "wounded pigeon," and he was, in her house, what is called in Paris, "The Abbé of the Family." Notwithstanding his distress, the Abbé de Bernis was of a noble family; but there are in France so many persons of noble birth, and so many men of good families, who are without employ, or the means of bread, that the Abbé de Bernis's chief aim was to distinguish himself in Paris, and in the house of Madame d'Etioles, by the brilliancy of his wit and the charms of his poetry. He was born at St. Marcel d'Ardèche, a quarter of which seignory belonged to his father, who lived in constant litigation, and was ruining himself to carry on a law suit, of little consequence, with another gentleman.

* *De Père*. I suppose this to be a typographical error of *Père* for *Mère*.—*Translator's Note*.

The Abbé de Bernis, who, now-a-days, blushes at his verses, cannot have forgotten that his stanzas and his madrigals laid the first foundations of his present brilliant fortune.

The views that Madame de Pompadour had, on the King's heart, the schemes and the intrigues necessary to secure her the possession of it, rendered her both prudent and circumspect in society. She parted with none of her lovers in anger; but those favors which she granted cautiously and with reserve, successively and by degrees, brought many persons, of high consideration, into her interest:—to the most pressing of her lovers, she observed that the King, alone, could make her guilty of an infidelity towards her husband; whilst Binet, a relation, who was one of the King's first valets-de-chamber, informed the Monarch, who seemed highly gratified with the information, that there was a bourgeoisie in Paris, the prettiest woman of the whole capital, who had sworn an eternal fidelity to her husband, with the sole excep-

tion of Louis XV. and the good man, d'Eti-
 oles, was the first to laugh at the jest. Louis
 the XVth. on his part, hunting one stormy day
 in the forest of Sennar, entered the Castle of
 d'Etioules, and offered to its master the horns
 of a stag, he had just killed. Monsieur d'E-
 tioules placed them in his saloon, where, it is
 said, they have remained ever since his wife
 realized this present of the King's. In the
 mean time Madame d'Etioules, educated with
 the hopes of being one day mistress to the
 King, joined her husband in laughing at the
 jest, which no one suspected would be rea-
 lized; and which was then looked on as a
 pleasantry; but which she was not the less
 seriously occupied in carrying into execution.
 She had resolved to make a captive of the
 King, and this resolution led her to leave
 no means untried, that could ensure to her this
 magnificent conquest.

Hunting was one of the most favorite di-
 versions of Louis XV. She gave her husband to
 understand how much she was attached to
 that diversion, and the exercise, that attended

it. Monsieur Le Normant was far from objecting to her enjoying it, and she had dresses made for the purpose, with that fine and exquisite taste for which she was always so remarkable; in short, nothing was left untried to obtain the ends which she had in view.

She accompanied the King in all his hunting parties, not as belonging to his *suite*, but merely as a spectatress. She contrived to throw herself in his way, and to meet him as often as possible; but she had the mortification, for a long time, to find all her advances fruitless, and all her contrivances of no avail. At last, as both her figure and her face were remarkable, the King, who so frequently passed her, was induced to make enquiry who she was, but the enquiry seemed neither marked by love, or desire.

This anxiety for notice did not escape the watchful eye of a rival, who had such exclusive possession, at that time, of the King's heart, that he was as it were, invulnerable to every other impression. This rival was the

Duchess of Châteauroux, one of the daughters of the Marchioness de Nesle; she had observed that Madame d'Etioles was present at every hunting party, that her looks were perpetually directed to the King, and that she sought every opportunity of placing her charms full in his view.

Madame d'Etioles, appeared in the forest of Sennar, near the Castle of d'Etioles, as a goddess descended from the spheres, sometimes dressed in an azure robe, and seated in a rose-coloured phaeton, and at others, in a rose-coloured robe, and in a phaeton of azure; her beauty was dazzling.

The Duchess de Châteauroux, who already began to dread that love of variety; which she knew formed part of the character of Louis XV., took offence at this, and employed the most active emissaries to watch all her actions.

It was reported that Madame d'Etioles going to see the King dine in public, and

having had the presumption to make a studied display of her charms to him, Madame de Châteauroux (who had had her pointed out to her, not knowing her personally) placed herself between the King and Madame d'Etioles, screening her entirely from his view, and getting her feet upon those of Madame d'Etioles, stamped on them with all her force, to punish her by this silent lesson for daring to shew herself to the King; but the patience and ambition of Madame d'Etioles was too great to suffer any thing to divert her from her project,

Madame de Châteauroux, on her part, being greatly offended at the King's having asked several questions respecting Madame d'Etioles, and determined at once to destroy all the plans she might have formed, and which she feared her perseverance might enable her to execute, assumed the tone of a declared favorite, and caused it to be signified to her, that she had best absent herself in future from the King's hunting parties, which assuredly would become dangerous to her if

she still presumed to persist and frequent them. Madame d'Etioles, who was too conscious of her rival's power to dare to enter the lists with her, thought it prudent to conform to these distressing orders. Her love appeared to have received a check, but her ambition and her plans became concentrated.

It will, perhaps, not be unacceptable if we should fill up the interval, which relates to her history from this moment to that in which this affair was renewed, by a short recital of the amours of the King, which appears to us necessary, for the better understanding what follows.

CHAPTER II.

First conjugal ties of Louis XV. and Mary Leczinsky his wife. The first amorous connections between this Prince and the four Sisters, Madame de Mailly, Madame de Vintimille, Madame de Châteauroux, and Madame de Lauraguais. Portraits of those ladies, their retreat from Court, or their death ; character of the King, under all these circumstances. Transient amours of this Prince. Portraits of Madame de la Poplinière and of Madame du Portail, who are refused by the King. Anecdotes.

LOUIS XV. was fifteen years old when he married the Princess Mary, daughter of Stanislaus Leczinsky, the dethroned King of Poland, and at that time Duke of Bar, and of Lorraine ; she was then seven years older than he was, and though this marriage like all those between persons of her rank, was made without consulting her inclinations, and without even a shadow of probability that the King would ever be attached to her from affection, Louis XV.

lived a long time with the Princess; an example of the most faithful conjugal love.

There was nothing seducing in the person of the Queen: the difference of age, though not excessive, was yet a point worthy of consideration. A numerous issue proved, nevertheless, beyond a doubt, the union that existed between this married couple; and seemed to ensure its duration. The King, who had been educated by Cardinal Fleury in the most rigid maxims of conjugal faith, passed a strong encomium on his master, by scrupulously respecting his principles; and habit finished, what duty had begun: besides, the Queen possessed good and amiable qualities sufficient to compensate for the slight defects that were perceptible in her.

The King was a long time, without shewing any abatement of regard, towards his wife. Some courtiers, who were base enough to entertain the hope of deriving more advantage from his vices than from his virtues, at so

early an age, for a long time endeavoured to corrupt him: the indignation he displayed at their conduct, overwhelmed them with confusion. One of them sounding the praise of a lady, well known at court, with an intention of inspiring him with an inclination for her; the King answered him—

“ Do you think her handsomer than the Queen ! ”

This unexpected answer, which was very well known at Court, disconcerted every project of this kind, and effectually sealed all lips on this subject. Such a constancy, however, was not formed to be of long continuance, at Versailles, against the force of example, too prevalent in a Court that was daily becoming more corrupt. Though ten, or twelve years, had glided away without the King's showing any distaste for the Queen, or any inclination to inconstancy, her age and her numerous child births caused in her, and, perhaps, in both, a coldness or indifference not very accordant with the passion of love:

the disproportion of years began more and more to be felt ; but the esteem which the King entertained for Mary Leezinska, and which she so truly merited, either whether he considered her as the tender and affectionate mother of so many children, or as an edifying and illustrious example of virtue and piety, made him still so far restrain himself, that every one imagined it was not without extreme repugnance, and several severe struggles, that he brought himself to depart from the duty which he owed her. But, when he had once overstepped the barriers which confined him, he gave himself up to all the irregularities which we are going to relate ; yet even during the continuance of these irregularities, Louis always shewed her, externally, the most profound esteem. This Princess was so moderate that she seldom permitted herself to ask a favor. Her conduct had also very much endeared her to the people, and had likewise acquired her the admiration of the Court, where virtue so seldom receives the justice it merits.

As soon as the King gave way to his inclinations—when he no longer concealed his desires—when he assumed the tone of a master determined to be obeyed; Cardinal Fleury, who was too well acquainted with the world, as well as with his pupil's disposition, to suppose that he would do a violence to himself, on a point in which few men will suffer themselves to be restrained; thought, however, that it would be prudent to select the object, on whom the King should fix his inclinations. The young Monarch had, as yet, no attachment, but his restless desires plainly shewed he would not be long without one.

Fleury was of opinion, that the lady who would be the least coy, would be her, that the King would like the best. He conceived, also, that she who was least ambitious, would best suit the interests of the Court, which was the cause of his saying—“ *Well then, let Mailly be introduced to him!*” Few ladies would have refused accepting the handkerchief, or rather, there were few who would not have disputed it; the King being, at that

time, the handsomest man at Court—in the Capital—or, perhaps, in the Kingdom. The Monarch, by degrees, attached himself to Madame Mailly; but never did Mistress make less advantage of her lover. Of a most disinterested, and generous character, she never asked any thing for *herself*, it was always in behalf of strangers, that the favors, of which she was the channel, flowed. Mild; charitable; affable; and obliging, her amiable qualities almost obliterated the stain on her honor, and so far was she from endeavouring to enrich herself, that it was always with great reluctance she received the trifling presents which the King made her.

Louis had only lived a few years, in a very private manner, with Madame de Mailly, and without incurring the scandal of the Court, when one of her younger sisters arrived there from the convent, where she had heard of Madame Mailly's elevation. Absorbed by ambition, and of a character quite opposite to that of the favorite, determined, in her own mind, to gain the King's

affections ; she was continually writing to her sister, at Versailles, entreating permission to serve her, either in the capacity of companion, secretary, or female reader. The amiable Madame Mailly, who had no jealousy in her nature, suffered herself to be surprised by the little convent boarder ; who came, and who, in establishing herself at Versailles, made a conquest of the King, not by her beauty, but because he had a natural propensity—a sort of passion, for little innocent-looking girls of twelve years old. The young hussy, who was aware of this, played her part so well, that the King became disgusted with Madame de Mailly. The little pensioner became pregnant, whom he made Monsieur de Vintimille marry, on condition that he should never have any connexion with her. What to some was highly entertaining, but gave general cause of scandal to *all* was, that the marriage ceremony was performed by the Archbishop of Paris, Monsieur de Vintimille, a relation of the husband. The issue of this amour was the young man whom, in those days we called, when absent, *Louis's*

counterpart, for, like all the King's natural children, without exception, he bore his father in his face.

It is to be observed that the Princes of the House of Bourbon must be absolutely, but artfully, governed both by their ministers and their mistresses. Madame de Vintimille, who had a great deal of genius, conduct, and contrivance, acted upon this maxim: she remarked this peculiar weakness in the King's disposition, and took such advantage of it, that the Cardinal, preceptor and prime minister, became so extremely jealous of her, as to be weak enough to betray it, and with such a degree of rancour, that to him was attributed the sudden and extraordinary death of Madame de Vintimille. Though the rulers of a State think they have a right to do any thing, I do not believe that Cardinal Fleury was capable of such an atrocity. Though his system of government, or politics, has been reproached as being too much marked with that morality, which in a statesman, at the head of such a kingdom as France, might

have been dispensed with, his reputation was, in the minds of many, severely wounded by the death of Madame de Vintimille.

The King, who thought him incapable of such an act, was a long time inconsolable; he secluded himself from company, and wept like a child. He returned, however, soon afterwards, to the arms of Madame de Mailly, who still incautious, notwithstanding the recent lesson she had received, had already received, with the same unsuspecting affection, another young sister, and even placed her in the very apartments where the deceased had rendered the King unfaithful.

Madame de Tournelle's features were regular, and of extraordinary beauty: she also possessed the Graces, and the elegant manners of those of high rank; the ceremonious manners of the Court, which she never laid aside, gave her the air of a dignified princess; so that Louis, in his familiar moments, always called her his "*Grande Princesse*."

The Duke d'Agénois (now Monsieur d'Aguillon) who was distractedly in love with her, received from the Duke de Richelieu, then Marshal of France, those lessons of intrigue, which that celebrated courtier was capable of practising with so much grace and address, and which was followed by the King as well as himself.

By some very skilful, although, perhaps, not the most modest contrivances, Madame de Vintimille succeeded in rendering herself agreeable to the King, notwithstanding her plainness. The beautiful La Tournelle made use of the garb of modesty alone, affecting a languishing air, and a timidity, not natural to her; and, amongst other arts of coquetry, she was in the habit of concealing her pretty face under a veil, which the King would raise for the purpose of admiring her, and frequently embraced her, whilst the perfidious fair one transpierced him with the sparkling glances of her fascinating eyes. After having, for some months, thus tantalized and raised the passions of the King, and finding he was,

at length, entrapped into her net, she assumed airs of haughtiness. The King, who did not give way, attempted to vanquish her, but she, on her part, raised obstacles, and multiplied objections; to which, the Prince answered like a Castilian Monarch, or a Prince of the Court and time of Francis I. The moment either for a positive refusal, or compliance was arrived, and it was then that the Marchioness de la Tournelle proposed terms:

The first was, that she should be made a Duchess.

The second, that her sister, Mailly, should withdraw from Court, and retire into a convent.

The third, that the King should give an *éclat* to the splendor of his Crown, by going in person to the Army, as she was apprehensive that the King's inactivity and amours, might be injurious to his reputation, which she wished to render spotless and glorious.

The fourth, that the King should give her a house and furnish it in a manner suitable to her rank and situation.

The King granted all she asked, notwithstanding which, she still resisted his eagerness, till she was assured she was publicly declared his mistress, though she was not really so. The Court being, at that time, on a less reserved system than that of Louis XIV. so much had the Cardinal trampled decency and dignity under foot.

The King, while with the army, was suddenly seized with a violent disease, during the favor of Madame de la Tournelle, who had been created Duchess of Châteauroux. The Bishops and Jesuits, who surrounded the King's bed, and the intrigues of the Courtiers, raised in this Prince, who was naturally religious, certain qualms of conscience, which induced him, by lettres de cachet, publicly to banish, to a distance from his Court, the Duchess de Châteauroux, who had followed him to the army.

The Queen hastened to Mentz, where the King was ill; she took with her Madame de Flavacourt, one of her ladies, who was the sister of Madames Mailly, Vintimille, and Châteauroux, so that it was observed, that one of the two sisters (the King's mistress) was banished the Court, whilst Madame de Flavacourt approached it with the Queen. This was the finest eulogium the religious Courtiers could pay to Madame de Flavacourt, whose virtue was, a long time, thought to be put on as a cloak; but it has since been known that the Duke de Richelieu tempted her with all the guile of Satan, and that she resisted his dangerous insinuations.

The King being recovered from the malignant fever, and having returned to Paris, received from Madame de Châteauroux a rose, a cockade, and a very amorous letter. He, who had tenderly loved her, paid her a visit in the evening, and a perfect reconciliation took place. This event made such an impression on her, that she died with the most alarming symptoms. The public, for ever occupied by

so many follies and falsehoods, suspected that she, like her sister Vintimille, had been poisoned. The King was, therefore, once more without a favorite, though not without enjoyments; for this Prince, naturally of a very warm constitution, employed panders, who procured him temporary pleasures, but such as by no means were calculated to satisfy his desires. Pleasure combined with amusement, was alone capable of enlivening the soul of this Prince, naturally and too often plunged in a gloomy melancholy.

Under these circumstances, Louis paid attention to some women who wished to form connexions with him. Madame de Lauragais amused him for some time, during the favor of her sisters. After the death of Madame de Châteauroux, while the King seemed to be pleased with the charms of inconstancy, she again appeared, like several other women, which proved that he was neither difficult nor delicate in his choice, for he accepted women of every condition, who were presented to him, without excepting even the little gris-

settle. The Duke de Richelieu, who shared with him all his mistresses, was, of all his courtiers, the most agreeable to him. He had a convenient apartment adjoining the King's, and in the private suppers that he gave him, never failed to introduce those women most suitable to maintain his credit. He sometimes, however, introduced ladies who deceived the hopes he had formed, as in the instances of Madame de Portail and Madame de la Poplinière, both of whom the King refused. The first, though very beautiful, had vulgar manners ; and the contrast was the greater, in proportion as her dress was the richer and more elegant : had she been dressed in a simple corset, she might have pleased him. The latter, though possessing wit, was so affected in her manners, that she disgusted him. Having given these ladies the title of famous, those of my readers, acquainted with my reasons, will pardon me a short digression in behalf of those who are not so well informed.

Madame de la Poplinière was a singer at the opera; and was taken from thence by

Monsieur de la Poplinière, a farmer-general, and of course very rich, who married her. She thought, without doubt, that she could not too speedily punish him for his folly, by delivering herself up to gallantry.

The Duke de Richelieu was at the head of her numerous favorites. He had hired, at an upholsterers, an apartment adjoining to his own, and contrived to open a door of communication through the wall of the chimney, that enabled him to visit her, and which was concealed, from sight, by a large plate of copper. Madame de Poplinière quarrelled with one of her waiting women, who made a discovery of this contrivance, and the poor husband, instead of dissembling his vexation and concealing his shame, was fool enough to relate, himself, this singular adventure, with all its attendant circumstances.

At Paris, the laughter-loving tribe, are never on the side of unfortunate husbands; the invention of the chimney was deemed so ingenious, that it drew on Madame de la Popli-

nière, numberless encomiums. Her name became so famous, that all kinds of things were called after it. It was the fashion to have caps, fans, and petticoats, *à la Poplinière*; nay, they even went so far as to imitate chimney boards, *à la Poplinière*.

As to Madame de Portail, the wife of the President of that name, the interview she had with the King, though not terminating as she could have wished, which she attributed to an excess of the respectful love, with which she had inspired him, gave rise to a most diverting adventure. This lady who was handsome, but extremely vain, took it into her head that she had made a conquest of the King, and that the want of a good opportunity alone, had prevented him from giving her convincing proofs of it. Flattering herself with this ravishing idea, she one night at a masked ball, saw a man, who in his air, his stature, and his voice, so strongly resembled the King, that the mistake was easily made. After having taken off her mask, she began to pursue and allure him. This man, who was one of the King's Guards,

and knew her very well, taking advantage of her mistake, gained complete possession of her charms. The business over, she, with the greatest effrontery, joined the assembly again, notwithstanding the disordered state she was in, fully satisfied that she had, as she conceived, been honored with the embraces of the King. But the Guardsman, not judging that he was bound to keep silence on the reception of a favour that was not intended for himself, and esteeming the incident too good to be kept secret, followed her into the room, and related in the hearing of every one his *bonne fortune*. (An amusing account of this adventure is to be found in "Les Bijoux Indiscrets," vol. ii. page 239, in 2 volumes, 12mo.)

Some time after, this same lady was implicated in an affair of a much more serious nature. She was accused of having, in concert with her cook and her porter, conspired to poison her husband. This accusation was not scrupulously investigated, otherwise, its termination might have been fatal. Her hus-

band himself, was desirous that the matter should be hushed up; but Madame de Pompadour, who could not forgive her having formed designs upon the King, took advantage of the accusation, and obtained a *lettre-de-câchet*, which confined her in a convent, in consequence of the suspicions entertained against her.

To love alone, was *Madame la Présidente* indebted for her liberty. There was a rich wine-merchant attached to the household of Madame de Pompadour, named M. d'Arboulín, who had loved Madame du Portail previous to her misfortunes: and who supposing that her distress would induce her to listen more favourably to his passion than she had done in her prosperous days, employed his credit with Madame de Pompadour: who, satisfied with her triumph, and seeing no reason to dread a rival in a woman who had for ever forfeited the public esteem, consented, with an air of commiseration, to the liberation of Madame de Portail: who, being divorced from her husband, rewarded the zeal


of Arboulin by an open avowal of her gratitude and attachment. She lived publicly with him, declaring to every one that he possessed all the qualifications that could be desired in a husband; love and vigour; unaccompanied with those defects so common among the Great—Hypocrisy and Impotence.

Such were the two women, who had the honor to be presented to the King, and the mortification of being rejected by him: and on this occasion it was that his majesty attached himself to Madame d'Etioles, in the way that I shall now relate.

CHAPTER III.



Secret Anecdotes relative to the elevation of Madame de Pompadour. Binet procures her for the King, who sends her away. Binet makes a second and more successful trial. She becomes more powerful than ever. She exerts herself to gain an influence over the King, and succeeds in rendering him generous. Favours granted to her family. Anecdote of Madame Sauvé, attached to the household of the Duke of Burgundy, under Madame de Tallard. Anecdotes of Monsieur de Maurepas. Les fleurs Blanches. The vanity of Madame de Pompadour.*



WHEN the King had thus given the rein to variety, and had shifted from object to object ; he took a sudden disgust for temporary

* Those to whom the French language is familiar, will see how unnecessary, and, indeed, how indelicate it would be in the Translator to substitute any other words for this passage than the original ones of the Author. As an Englishman, he has too great a respect for decency and his fair countrywomen, to attempt it.—*Translator's Note.*

connections of this sort, for he found that, far from adding zest to his pleasures, they tended to blunt the edge of enjoyment, and to deprive it of all its energy. One evening, as he was retiring to rest, he unbosomed himself to Binet, his confidential Valet-de-Chambre, and observed to him, that he was weary of new faces, without being able to find one capable of fixing his affections. He asked him, if he knew any female, equal to his wishes, and who by her merit and good qualities could put an end to these perpetual changes.

Binet, charmed with the confidence of his Royal Master, assured him that he knew of a female, who, he was certain, would please him; that the person in question was a relation of his, who had been in love with his Majesty from the first time she ever had the happiness of beholding him, and who had long entertained the tenderest affection for his person. This answer excited the curiosity of the King; who eagerly demanded the name of the fair one. Binet endeavoured to make

him recollect that he had seen her in his hunting parties, in the forest of Sennard: and that he had before made enquiries respecting her. The King, who perfectly recollected the circumstance, replied, that she certainly had made a lively impression upon him at the time, notwithstanding that he was then warmly attached to Madame de Châteauroux: he added, that he should be much pleased to have a private interview with her; and ordered him to arrange matters accordingly. Binet, having received his instructions, went the next day to the house of Madame d'Etioles; and related to her all that had passed. She accepted the rendezvous with an eagerness correspondent to her ambition, and every thing was immediately arranged that she should pass the night, out of her own house, without her husband's having suspicion of the matter.

Madame d'Etioles was punctual to the assignation: the King passed the night with her, and sent her home in the morning, with an appearance of indifference, and it was

a considerable time before he even spoke to Binet about her. The chagrin of the confidant and the mortification of the Mistress may easily be imagined. After, having reckoned, with such confidence, on the power of her charms; after having passed so many years, each of them in constructing this fine Château en Espagne, to see it all vanish; to be reduced to the mortification of thinking that enjoyment had not made an impression on the heart of the King, forcible enough to receive her even a second time—what a downfall! what a disgrace!

More than a month passed by, in this apparent indifference, when one night the King addressing himself to Binet, asked him, with a smile, "Where his relation was, and what she thought of him?" Binet told him that Madame d'Etioles never ceased from weeping, that she did nothing but think of his Majesty, whose image was ever perpetually before her eyes, even in her dreams.

"Is she then weeping for the sin she com-

mitted?" replied Louis XV. "To tell you the truth," added the King, "I feared that, like all the others, she was actuated only by ambition or by self-interest; a passion infinitely less dignified, and more blameable than the desire of pleasing; exclusive of this idea, I can truly say she pleased me extremely, but I wished to see what effect, these apparent marks of slighting neglect would have on her."

Binet was too well-versed a courtier, and the intrigue in which his personal interest was so deeply engaged, was of too much consequence to him, not to give the King every assurance capable of reviving his passion, and do away all his doubts. He particularly observed to him, that Interest, that vile passion of mercenary souls, could not have any charms for her, because she was already very rich; to which he added, that from every thing he could judge, he verily believed she loved the King for his person only, and that every other consideration was excluded from her passion.

“Very well,” said the King, “if that is the case, I shall be charmed to see her again!”

The visit was accordingly renewed, the King saw her, and this second interview was attended with consequences very different from the first. She succeeded in captivating him to such a degree, that scarcely could he wait the moment which was to give her again to his amorous desires. From that time he constantly passed his nights with her, until her conquest was so decided, that he lived but for her alone.

- This final, and decided success of her projects, was generally attributed to the instructions of her mother, who, initiated into all the mysteries of gallantry, and versed in the practice of inconstancy, possessed the art of pleasure, in all its perfection. Her lessons were not lost on her daughter, to whose turn of mind they were peculiarly adapted. Madame Poisson lived but a short time, after having seen her daughter firmly established as a declared favorite, and the ex-

cess of joy she experienced, at witnessing her elevation, was the cause of shortening her days; her whole life had been devoted to the success of this project.

Madame d'Etioles, however, could not pass the nights so frequently from home, without giving her husband cause of uneasiness; still less could he, without the most lively alarm, see her lay aside all decency, and break through every restraint; but he was not long before he came to a knowledge of his misfortune, and of the love of him who was the cause of it. As his love, for his wife, was of too sincere and affectionate a nature, to suffer him to think of sharing her with another, this discovery was like a thunder-bolt to him.

Resolved not to submit, he began by adopting the tone of an injured and offended person, and to use the authority of a husband; this only served to accelerate the execution of those measures, which the King, in concert with Madame d'Etiole, had resolved on; rendered bold by the certainty of protec-

tion, she fearlessly laid aside the mask, and having hoisted the colours of the enemy, she sought an asylum at Versailles. The poor Monsieur d'Etioles, deserted by his wife, whom he faithfully and passionately loved, was loud in his grief, and filled the universe with his complaints. He had used every means to bring her back to her duty, when he received a mild message, unaccompanied by a letter-de-câchet, ordering him to go and reside at Avignon.

Forced to obey, he repaired to the place of his exile; and there, still distractedly fond of his wife, he gave himself up to such violent transports of affliction, as brought on a fever which had nearly cost him his life; he recovered, however, at last, owing to the strength of a good constitution, and the forcible representations of some of his friends, who succeeded in convincing him of the folly of giving up life, for an ungrateful wife; who, so far from shedding a tear at his death, would be the first to rejoice at it. Twelve months passed at Avignon, gave time to reason to work his cure.

He grew more tranquil, and made interest for permission to return to Paris, which he readily obtained, under a promise to leave matters quietly as they were, to stifle his discontent, and to give up all thoughts of seeing his wife again.

To this favor, (if favor it could be called) other advantages were attached sufficiently considerable in themselves, to have consoled him, if it were, or could be in the power of riches, or of rank, to console a man for the loss of a beloved object. The official situation, given him in the Department of the Finances, was worth four hundred thousand livres per annum,* besides granting him every favor which he asked for his friends. Although he never saw his wife, yet he kept up a constant correspondence with her by letters. Much as she had before constantly frequented public places, she now rarely, or ever, went to them, and when she did, she never failed to give her husband notice of her intention, that there might not be a possibility of their meeting together; and she acted thus for two reasons,

* About £16,400 Sterling per Annum.

first, that the eyes of the curious might not be fixed on the conduct she might adopt, if such a circumstance happened; and next, possibly, that she might avoid the shame and mortification of being seen in the same place with an husband, whom she had so cruelly injured. She well knew that the day she should be seen at the play-house, in his presence, the public would openly applaud her husband, and insult *her*; and it is wonderful, as the favorite so well knew the natural propensities of the Parisians, that she did not take more pains to attach them to her.

Madame d'Etioles, who saw herself surrounded by enemies, the very day of her installation at court, as a Favorite, exerted herself as much as possible to guard against them. To please and gratify the King, and to study his disposition, was her first aim; and artful and keen-sighted as she was, she soon acquired a thorough knowledge of his character. Profiting by her observation, she managed matters so well, that the King was convinced he never should find a person with whom he

could pass his days so happily, or so tranquilly. She had found out the weak side of the King, and she perceived, that of all the modes in her power, the surest was that of keeping him perpetually amused; and she formed to herself a plan for managing him, which had this discovery for its basis.

Kings are more liable perhaps, than the rest of mankind, to feel the weight of listlessness and of ennui. The unfortunate facility they possess of procuring themselves amusements, soon exhausts the capability of enjoying the pleasures, which, at every step the eager assiduity of a crowd of courtiers is solely occupied in contriving for their gratification. The source is dried up, and the evil is without remedy; hence it is, that we find them even before the meridian of life, worn out with enjoyments, and all their pleasures deprived of the charms of novelty. It then requires no common invention to discover such pleasures, as shall be fortunate enough to interest; or to satisfy them; and still more, to restore the charms of novelty to those, which fruition has

already rendered tasteless and insipid, to hit upon the manner of diversifying them with taste, and to present them afresh under another form.

On these two points, Madame d'Enghien it must be allowed, was the very woman formed for the King; whose natural business of temper augmented the gloomy ennui to which he was ever a prey, when unoccupied and which made him sigh after amusement: could he do better then look up to her, to fill up the dreadful vacuum, of which the very idea alone tormented him? To her, who to the most winning charms of person, aided by every grace and fascination that the most polished education could bestow, added that art so necessary at Versailles, of amusing in a manner before unknown either to the King, or to the Court; her address and her talents were such, that the merest trifles from her mouth became valuable, and no one equalled her in the graceful manner of recounting a story, or relating the little anecdotes of the Court, or the Court. She sang, she played in the most ex-

terly manner, on all sorts of instruments, she danced with all the graces and lightness of a nymph ; and no nymph could excel her in delicacy or agility. She was particularly skilled in shewing off her variety of graces, and never shewed them, but at the very moment when they would be most forcibly felt ; her penetration was such, that she knew the very moment their influence would cease, and that moment she took care never should happen. The scene was already changed, ere the spectator was recovered, from the surprize and admiration which she had excited by the first display.

With so many talents of pleasing the King and his favorites, was it to be wondered at, if she became the Oracle of all the Court, and as a second Petronius Arbiter ! No amusement was thought an amusement, unless invented by her, or if it had not the honor of her approbation. In those petits sayings of which the King was so fond, (every thing was required to be *à la Pompadour*) and from which he had found the secret of banishing all the restraint of ceremony, in the midst

of a few chosen guests, who in those moments were more his friends than his subjects. Divested of all the pomp of Majesty, he gave himself up wholly to the pleasure of seeing her give life to this voluptuous company, and animating them with wit and meriment, for she was the very life and soul of all these little parties, in a word, the King had so many reasons for believing her necessary to his happiness, that his heart no longer listened to, or felt the pleasures of inconstancy.

The King's attachment to her was so great, that he thought nothing too costly, which would give her proofs of his affection; the Bourbons have been known to spend large sums of money, in exterior magnificence; love, has even metamorphosed some of them into prodigals; but generosity was never reckoned amongst their private qualities

Louis, the well beloved, was no exception to this general trait of family character. Naturally economical, he was never known to recompense the favors of his mistresses in a

kingly manner; but it was reserved for Madame d'Etioles, and her powerful influence, to open the sluices of the Royal Treasure, and to turn its streams upon herself and her creatures.

He gave her, in the first place, a Marquisate with the title of Marchioness of Pompadour. Poisson who passed for her father, only because he had married her mother, after having obtained his pardon, before the elevation of his daughter, was placed in a state of affluent independence for the rest of his days.

Her brother, whose only claim to notice was that circumstances, was made Marquis of Vandiere. The courtiers, by a small alteration of the word, always called him the Marquis d'Avant-heir; (the Marquis of the day before yesterday) which jest was the cause of his taking the title of Marquis de Marigny; the liberality of the King having enabled him to purchase the marquisate of that name. He had before that been appointed Director and Governor-General of all Public Buildings,

Gardens, Arts and Manufactures of the Kingdom; a most important office, to which the most lucrative appointments were attached.

All these dignities did not, however, give him the talent necessary for this office, especially when the circumstances were considered to which he owed his elevation to it; and the old *Poisson* could not help saying, on the occasion, "As to my daughter, she has a great deal of wit, she is beautiful, and is deserving of the King's partiality for her; but that the King should do so much for my son Charles, is really inexcusable, even in my eyes;" the fact was, *Poisson* the father was jealous.

The King, however, notwithstanding his tenderness for the sister, could not help laughing at Marigny. Some of the courtiers speaking one day in his presence, of the approaching promotion of Knights of his Orders,* named several persons whom they thought likely to be honored with the blue ribband,

* • Chevaliers de ses Ordres."

and amongst the rest the young Poisson*
 “No,” said the King, “that is too small a
 Poisson (fish) to be served up with blue sauce.
 This jest was too poignant to have been per-
 mitted in any other but the King, and no
 person would have dared to have repeated it,
 if any other, but the King, had been the author
 of it.

Madame de Pompadour had given the
 King a taste for liberality, and it became ha-
 bitual to him. It is no extraordinary thing to
 see persons lavish from habit; and the custom
 of profusion is necessary towards persons of
 low birth, because all the merit of what has
 before been given, is totally lost on them, if
 one present is not followed up by another,
 and if the last is not a pledge of the one that
 is to follow.

* The point here is on the word Poisson, fish; and to
 thoroughly understand the joke, it is necessary to state that none
 but large fish are dressed in France, in what the cooks call *au
 bleu*; which is neither more nor less than pickling them, and
 serving them up cold; a mode which is never practised to small
 fish.

When the extreme disproportion of his prodigalities, and the object they were lavished upon, are considered, we are more tempted to set them down to the weakness of love, than to give them credit as being the marks of a royal virtue; of *liberality*. She had the most arbitrary command over the King's purse, and she had no mercy on its contents; exclusive of the immense sums she drained from it, to defray the expences of that stile of life she had plunged him in, she drew from it still larger sums for her own private use. This money, added to what she procured by the sale of her protection, and her interest in the distribution of offices and employments, and a thousand other modes, which the sovereign had placed in her hands, was incalculable; a part of it, she placed in the principal Banks of Europe, the remainder, was more apparent and more readily guessed at, as it was laid out in buildings, and in the purchase of different estates, and magnificent seats.

At Paris, she bought a palace near to the Thuilleries, called the *Hotel d'Evreux*, and

not thinking it good enough for her accommodation, she pulled it down, to build up another in its place. It was a grievous offence to the Parisians to see the Palace of a Prince, become the property of a King's Mistress, and that Mistress sprung from the drugs of the people !

When the board was taken down, on which was inscribed the former name of the Hotel, to put up that of Pompadour; the walls of the palace were covered with epigrams, the severest sonnets, and the most bitter satires, which sufficiently proved the sentiments of the nation ; and a circumstance occurred, that increased the rage of the people, to such a degree, that they proceeded to acts of open violence.

The Cours, is a spot where the nobility, and persons of distinction are in the habits of taking the air, in their carriages. To enlarge the gardens of the hotel, a large piece of this beautiful drive was taken in and enclosed ; which appeared a robbery to the public. It was how-

ever authorized by the King's consent and approbation; notwithstanding which, the populace assembled, and fell upon the workmen who were busied in building the wall, that was to enclose that part of the public walk; and the guards were obliged to be called out to protect them from further acts of violence.

The palace she had at Versailles, was magnificent; although she had not purchased it for her own use, having apartments in the Château, she had no need of it. It was solely for the accommodation of her numerous suite; and in addition to it, the King gave her for her life the Royal Castle of Crècy.

This was certainly a great indecency, and every one murmured at seeing the property of the crown thus disposed of, but that was not all; Madame de Pompadour one day expressed a wish for a country house; and the King immediately gave orders for building that magnificent one, which is on the road to Versailles, near to Seve, and to Meudon, and which was called *Belle Vue*, on account of

the charming prospect, and the delightful environs. And, in fact, it was the uncommon beauty of the situation, that first created a wish in the favorite to become its possessor. To form gardens suitable to such a mansion, many owners of houses in the neighbourhood were obliged, in a most arbitrary and tyrannical manner, to give up their property, at half its value, or at the price which Government chose to pay for it; this grievous oppression necessarily completed the hatred of the people, who saw, with regret and indignation, the immense sums lavished on the favorite.

It required infinite skill to combat the almost insuperable difficulties, of continually drawing on her lover, without discovering a mercenary soul, actuated by the most sordid self interest; but the superior genius of Madame de Pompadour, was fully equal to the task. With the most insinuating manners, and a mind capable of reconciling itself to any thing, with abilities framed to insure success either on the stage, or at court: she was equal to any character she chose to assume.

Infinitely more difficult would it have been to have discovered, that all in her was assumed ; all artifice ; nothing natural ; without appearing to exact any thing, she grasped every thing ; and never did self-interest better conceal itself under the mask of disinterestedness ; but if she did not love the King, or if she did really love him as much as she pretended, yet surely there was a baseness of mind, not very consonant with a sincere affection, in thus perpetually draining a beloved object ; and taking advantage of his weakness, to procure from him those things which were as prejudicial to his glory, as injurious to his reputation. She could not plead ignorance, in excuse, for her conduct, as to the motives by which she was actuated ; the loud outcries of the people, which necessarily must have come to her ears, too plainly reproached her with the evils she was the cause of, to suppose her not to have known them ; but her heart was like her love, insensible and incapable of feeling ; had she ever known the influence of that charming passion, it would have prevented the completion of her projects, and left her no room for artifice ; but

in a Court where envy was capable of exciting enmity the more deadly in proportion as personal merit gave more cause for its venom. But, in this instance, envy was unnecessary, for there were motives of hatred far better founded. Let us say nothing of the scandal such a connexion gave birth to, though it could not be more glaring in a court accustomed, *for a length of time, to these sort of circumstances.* But was it to be borne, without indignation, that a family, as ignoble as it was unknown, should take precedence of the first nobility of the kingdom, and be loaded with numberless gifts and advantages? All France murmured; and those of the King's friends who were the most faithfully and firmly attached to him, were the first to shew their discontent: even the very Courtiers, that despicable set of beings, who, at Versailles, have not a thought they can call their own (for slaves to the master who governs them, they dare not think differently from him) the very Courtiers, I say, although their pride is so nearly allied to baseness, thought themselves offended by being

obliged to prostrate themselves at the feet of an idol, whom they thought beneath them; and tried to revenge themselves, by seeking every opportunity of shewing their hatred and contempt to her and her family; in a word, the indignation of the public was general, and Madame de Pompadour narrowly escaped falling a victim to it. The circumstance which seemed to threaten her ruin, and which made a great noise at the time, is too remarkable and too worthy of notice to be passed over in silence. The following are a few of the particulars:—

There was a certain Madame Sauvè, the wife of a Clerk, in the office of M. d'Argenson, Secretary of State for the War Department, who was in the service of Madame Tallard, governess to the Duke of Burgundy, eldest son of his Royal Highness the Dauphin, and who, at that time, was an infant. One day that permission was given to the public to see the child, and that they were flocking in crowds for that purpose, she had absented herself, and the infant was placed in an

open cradle, surrounded by an iron grating, to protect him from the inconvenience, or the danger which the too great eagerness of the crowd might occasion.

When every one was gone, Madame Sauvé went to the cradle, and taking up the Prince, she screamed out at seeing a sealed packet, which, she said, she found lying there. This packet was directed to the King, and given to him by Madame Tallard, to whom, Madame Sauvé had given it the moment she had found it. It was opened; and, exclusive of some verses, and some grains of wheat, alluding to the great scarcity that then prevailed; a letter was found, filled with the bitterest complaints against the King; against his Government; and more particularly reproaching him for his scandalous mode of life with Madame de Pompadour; he was threatened with a new Ravallac, if he did not change his conduct, and pay more attention to the welfare of his people.

Although this circumstance made the

King very angry, yet he was less enraged at the contents of the letter, than at the mode in which it reached him. Madame de Pompadour was aware of the deadly hatred which d'Argenson entertained for her; he had been imprudent enough, or candid enough to speak openly against her; and, notwithstanding his interest, it was only by a species of miracle that he preserved his office, and the good graces of his master.

Suspicion fell strongly on him, as the author of this letter, and she did not fail to hint her suspicions to the King, to whom she also recounted circumstances that seemed to give weight to her suspicions. The enmity of M. d'Argenson was open, and declared; Madame Sauvé was not only the wife of one of his clerks, but more than that, was suspected of being his own mistress. In a word, she succeeded in making her representation so plausible and so probable, that the King actually believed he had unravelled the mystery; and even went so far, as to give to his Minister, d'Argenson, the most expressive marks of his displeasure. But in thus ruining this minister's credit, she had nearly

ruined herself; for the Queen and the Ministers, and almost the whole Court, took part against her.

It was an universal sentiment that the whole affair was only a malicious contrivance of her own; and that she herself, through the medium of her confidential agents, was the author of it, to ruin an innocent woman, who had but one fault, which was, not thinking better of *her* than she deserved. These reports, as unanimous as they were loud; shook the firmness of the King, spite of his extreme partiality for her. Madame Sauvé, who found this packet, or who said she had found it, was minutely and severely examined; and her answers only served to make the business more complicated and more inexplicable.

When she was asked, “how it was possible that a packet could be put into a cradle; enclosed by gratings, and by the side of which she was sitting, without her remarking the person who put it in.” She answered, “that

at the moment when she believed the p^{ac}quet to have been put into the cradle, she felt her hand squeezed, but that she had looked on it as done by some one in the crowd, endeavouring to get as near the cradle as possible, and who had hold of the first thing in his way to prevent being thrown down, on losing his footing," and she also added, "that even if she had had reason to fear any thing extraordinary, the thing was so sudden, and the crowd so great, it would have been impossible for her to have remarked the person who did it." She was then told, that a circumstance so singular as that of feeling her hand squeezed, could not but agitate her greatly; and that if she had not presence of mind enough to fix on the person who did it, yet, at least, she ought to have called out for the centinel that was present, which she had neglected to do." Notwithstanding these observations, she would have been absolved, had not her conduct confirmed the suspicions which were entertained of her. On the very evening of the day in which this passed, she said, to her servant, as she was going to bed, "that the person who

had slipped the packet into the cradle, would never be satisfied till she had been the cause of her death; because, otherwise, she would live in the continual dread of, sooner or later, being discovered and arrested, but that she would save her all further uneasiness on that score, and would spare herself the anguish of mind which distressed her, by putting an end to herself." The servant made use of all her eloquence to dissuade her from so dreadful a resolution, and Madame Sauvé seemed to yield to her reasoning; but no sooner had she quitted the room, than she swallowed poison; her screams, occasioned by the agony she suffered, brought the servant to her room, who seeing what her mistress had done, alarmed the family. Recourse was immediately had to medical aid: the antidote that was administered to her, would have counteracted the effects of a poison much stronger than that which she had swallowed; and of course her life was saved; but her conduct was so outré, and there was something so affected, and so assumed, in her behaviour upon the occasion, that it gave ad-

ditional weight to the suspicions already entertained of her. She was arrested and carried to the Bastille, from whence she never came out. What examination she underwent in this prison—what tortures she suffered—or what confession was drawn from her—or whether she was, or was not, put to death there, never was known, "one thing, however, is certain, that from that moment, she was no more heard of

Her husband made his escape as soon as ever he heard of her being arrested, but having completely exculpated himself, he was not long before he returned

It is to be presumed that M^r d'Argenson was entirely innocent, since the storm that threatened him was so soon over, and that he regained the same interest with the king as before. It would, perhaps, be carrying suspicion too far to attribute this business to Madame de Pompadour, but if she really was guilty of it, the suppression of Sauve's examination, and the increase of favor she en-

joyed, can only be attributed to the ascendancy she had acquired over the mind of the King—an ascendancy, that rendered him incapable either of punishing, or of quitting her; however, an action of such weakness, and at the same time of such iniquity, is so incredible, that there is no resisting the wish of believing her to have been innocent of it.

This storm, which threatened her ruin, only served to fix her power more strongly; for it was no sooner past, than the King became more attached to her than ever; and the whole Court soon felt the power of her influence in every thing that was done there; nor was any transgression so severely punished, as the slightest mark of disrespect shewn to the person whom the King seemed to take a pleasure in loading with honours.

She had therefore every reason for triumph, and to congratulate herself on having chosen the only and surest way to captivate the Monarch, and to ensure her conquest: It is to be wished, for the happiness of mankind,

that her secret was more generally known, and her example more generally followed, but not abused; however great would be the dangers to which man would be exposed in that case, yet women would be the gainers, and their plans would ever be crowned with the most brilliant success.

This secret simply consisted in studying the King's disposition, and in making a point of conforming to it by obliging him in every thing, and hence it was, that her society was preferred by him to the most brilliant parties of pleasure. It is neither great beauty, nor superior understanding that can produce this effect; but it is that well-timed and kind compliance, which sacrifices personal opinion or gratification, particularly in *trifles*, in little whims and caprices to promote the happiness or pleasure of another: but how much more irresistible, and how much more absolute, will be the sway of a woman acting in this manner, than that of one guided by self-willed perversity, and self-opiniated obstinacy.

Ever faithful to this maxim, Madame de Pompadour experienced the happiest proofs of its truth and solidity: for scarcely had she passed a few years with the King, as his Mistress, before she was incapacitated from, what is generally thought the essential part of a Mistress; a weakness, incident to her sex, came on her so violently, that to avoid its consequences, which threatened her life, the King was obliged, by the advice of her physicians, to discontinue visiting her; and, however painful the constraint and self-denial he imposed on himself, yet desire gave way to the idea of his Mistress's malady, and to the dread of being implicated in its effects.

What a triumph for Madame de Pompadour; in the very critical situation in which she stood! she had the gratification to find that her interest with the King, was founded on surer grounds, than on the transitory charms of her person. It was then she found how fortunate she had been, in binding her lover by

so many various chains of attachment; for even in breaking that which appeared the strongest, he still remained, as much as ever, her slave. All the courtiers, and even she herself was astonished to see that her empire, over the King's heart, remained unbounded as ever, under circumstances which it was natural to suppose would have excited indifference, if not disgust. There were, however, many reasons that concurred to preserve her influence over him. His ruling passion for those amusements, with which she alone knew so well how to entertain him; the every-day habits of Princes, whose favor is shewn by presents, and those presents rendering the favorite more dear, by which increase of favor, more presents are engendered. Custom, a certain spirit of contradiction, which delights in disappointing the conclusions of others; the singularity of a thing; and perhaps above all, that false pride, so prevalent in the human heart, which persists in error, because it dreads by desisting from it, to confess its folly; these weaknesses served so well as explanations of this moral paradox, that his continued attach-

ment to her, was no longer wondered at ; and the King, so far from having any intention of breaking her chains, seemed more than ever her willing slave.

Monsieur de Maurepas, was one of the first who was deceived by appearances ; and was one of the first victims of his false conclusions. Exclusive of being Prime Minister, he had also the honour of being one of those courtiers, who shared the King's intimacy, as well as favor ; he had been, as it were, brought up with him, and scarcely was he of age, before he was appointed to a situation in the Government. . On a gala day, at Court, Madame de Pompadour presented to the King a nosegay of white roses, which was mentioned, with other anecdotes of the day, to Monsieur de Maurepas, whilst dressing ; who immediately remarked, with a laugh, " That he always had thought that sooner or later, Madame de Pompadour would make the King a present of white flowers.*"

* The Translator refers the reader to the original French, "un présent de fleurs blanches," as reasons (unnecessary to mention) render the significant translation of it, unfit for the chaste ear of English Readers.

This allusion was eagerly caught up by several persons who were present, and it was the general topic of the whole Court. At length, appeared a poem on it, which was attributed to Monsieur de Maurepas.

No insult could have been so cutting, or so wounding to Madame de Pompadour; whose anger exceeded all bounds, and the King was also extremely displeased. From that moment, Monsieur de Maurepas lost both his place and the royal favor, and apparently without hopes of ever regaining them; for there was no trait in the King's disposition more prominent, than that of never again taking into favor, any one whom he had either punished or discarded. The example of de Chauvelin, may serve as an instance of this unbending and inflexible turn of mind; for this minister, a man of great abilities, and high in the King's esteem, was disgraced through complaisance to the Cardinal de Fleury, and although the sequel of the business, proved he was in no wise to blame, or had done any thing that merited cen-

sure, yet never could he succeed either in being employed, or taken notice of again.

The dismissal of Monsieur de Maurepas, was an affair too serious, and of too much magnitude, not to render it necessary to assign some plausible reason for the cause of it. It was impossible to assign the real one; therefore some ill-management; and some neglect of his official duties in the Marine Department, was held out as the ostensible pretext, for dismissing him from his situation, as Minister and Secretary of State. The people who would not believe there was any truth in the accusation, only became more dissatisfied, at finding that such forcible reasons had not before done, what was reserved for the animosity of the Pompadour to effect; but at Court, one is far more exposed to be the victim of one's virtues, than one's crimes; to hate Madame de Pompadour, was reckoned a virtue.

Maurepas was not the only one, who served as an example, to shew how dangerous it was

to incur her displeasure. Monsieur de Res-
sèguier, a Knight of Malta, and an Officer in
the King's Guards, was still more unlucky ;
he made a quatrain* against her, in which, the
King's weakness, in being so attached to her,
was so severely handled, that it might after-
wards have been said, with some degree of rea-
son, that he was punished for having spoken
so disrespectfully of the King, if at the time
the King had not made a merit to his mistress,
that he had only revenged her personal quar-
rel. This quatrain went to prove, that a King
who debased himself by selecting from the
dregs of society, the most infamous woman
in the world, to honour her with his affection,
could have no other than a mind susceptible
of every baseness.

The Chevalier de Res-èguier, was imme-
diately suspected as the author; and on that
suspicion, at a time when he was from home,
an armed force was sent to his house, his papers
were searched, and what was looked for was

* A stanza of four lines.

was very jealous of him; *a coup-d'œil*, a look of more attention than ordinary at any one who seemed to please him, all rendered her miserable, and though she did every thing in her power to hide her mortification, yet still her uneasiness was plainly perceptible.

When Madame de Brionne came to Court, for the first time, it was generally believed she had an idea of captivating the King, who never took his eyes from this young and interesting beauty. One night at supper, looking at this lovely object, he exclaimed with rapture, in the presence of Madame de Pompadour, "that he never before had seen so charming a woman," a declaration that caused the favorite the most excruciating uneasiness.

To prevent, as speedily as possible, the evil consequences that might ensue, she took care to insinuate to Prince Charles of Lorraine, (not the Brother of the Emperor) that the virtue of his Nephew's wife was in the greatest danger. The prince, who was very nice where his honour was concerned, had not a moment's tranquillity

till he had persuaded his nephew, M. de Brionne to insist on his wife's instantly abs.enting herself from Court.

Madame, de Pompadour, has been represented in the course of this history, as occupied in filling her coffers with all the avidity, naturally characteristic of that profession, from which the King had selected her. She had been the wife of a financier. She would have thought her views only partially gratified, had she been satisfied with the certainty of being beloved: she could not help betraying the lowness of her origin; by that haughtiness and vanity which are its most certain characteristics. She had too much sense to be ignorant of her defects, but not enough to perceive, that the title of Mistress to the King rendered them still more glaring; and exposed them more to observation. She did not consider that in taking such pains to attain a point of elevation, which she considered as above contempt; she was only making herself more remarkable to observation;—either these reflections were too deep for her understand-

ing, or what is, perhaps, more consistent with reason, she was led away by the natural meanness of her passions.

It would be an endless undertaking to relate the proofs she gave of that pride, which on so many occasions made her the laughing stock of the Court, and in particular of those courtiers who shewed the greatest complaisance in humouring it: a few examples will bear testimony of this.

Nothing is more calculated to give an idea of the exalted opinion she had of herself, than the ceremonial she had established in her own favor, in the room where she received her visits, when she was at her toilet; in which she never would suffer more than one arm chair to be placed. It was a sort of favor that she permitted even the King to have a chair brought him, when he came to see her; and as to the Princes of the Blood, the Cardinals, and some others of the very first distinction, as she did not dare to be seated before them, without offering them a chair, be-

cause she thought she could do it with impunity, she received them standing, and never sat down till they went away.

The Marquis de Souvrè being one day at her toilet, and not finding any chair to sit down on, seated himself on one of the arms of her chair, and continued conversing with her as before. Madame de Pompadour, exasperated beyond measure at this familiar way of proceeding, went and complained to the King, of the insult she had received from M. de Souvrè.

The King took the very first opportunity of mentioning the matter to the Marquis; who said, "Sire, I was cursedly tired, and not knowing where to sit down, I took the first thing that came in my way;" *this cavalier answer made the King laugh,* and as he had the good-luck to be a sort of favorite, the business ended there; but if that had not been the case, he would have found, to his cost, that it was somewhat dangerous to seat himself on the arm of Madame de Pom-

padour's chair. A similar anecdote happened to the Prince of Beaufremont.

Wishing to assume the character of a Great Princess, and to have a gentleman in her service, she made choice of a young man of one of the best, and most ancient families of the Province of Guienne, of the name of d'Inville, and every one was at a loss to determine which was the most disgusting, the vanity of the Mistress, or the baseness of the young gentleman.

She had a Maître d'Hotel, of the name of Collin, but she did not think him worthy of the honor of waiting on her, till he was decorated with the ribbon of an order. Few Princesses would have thought of such a thing, but she was of another stamp from those to whom the privileges of high birth give the most eminent qualities. She not only conceived the idea, but, through her influence with the King, she actually carried it into execution; and Collin was created Principal

Accountant to the Royal and Military Order
of St. Louis.

This Order was instituted in favor of those Officers who had distinguished themselves by their valour, either by sea or land, as well as by their length of service. Collin, who was a mere servant, and nothing more, had, of course, no pretensions to be included in it, or that could make him eligible. It is true that this change did not make him a Knight of St. Louis, but it produced nearly the same effect; as it gave him the right of wearing the cross, and the other insignia of the Order. Thus Madame the Marchioness of Pompadour, in whose eyes appearances were equal to reality, had the pleasure of seeing, behind her chair, the resemblance of a Knight of St. Louis, with his cross at his button-hole, and a napkin under his arm: if she had intended to turn the Order into ridicule, she could not have taken a more effectual method.

In the same manner, to bring into discredit the India Cloth, which the English sold to us to injure our manufactures, our Government ordered, in the time of Louis the XIVth. that the Executioner should be obliged to be dressed in it, every time he had occasion to hang any one.

CHAPTER I

Installation of Madame de Pompadour to the honours of the Tabouret. Anecdotes relative to the Dauphin and Madame de Pompadour. The King punishes the Dauphin to please her. Anecdotes relative to the King, the Queen, and to Madame de Pompadour; she wishes to be appointed Dame du Palais to the Queen.

HER vanity encreasing with her influence, nothing would satisfy her short of the honours of the Louvre; these honours consist principally in the privilege of permission to be seated on a stool in the presence of the Queen, and in being presented to her, and receiving a kiss from her; in this consists the ceremony of Installation.

It was the height of indiscretion, in Madame de Pompadour, to make such a request; as she could not be ignorant that she was un-

qualified for it by birth ; exclusive of which, the sentiments of the Queen towards her must, of course, be of such a nature as to ensure her a very bad reception ; nevertheless such was the complaisance of this virtuous Princess, that she could not prevail on herself to oppose the wishes of the King, every thing therefore yielded to the orders and superior influence of the candidate, and every obstacle, even the very etiquette of the Court, which granted that privilege only to Duchesses, was got over ; for, in reply to the various objections that were made against her, she said, that her rank as Mistress to the King, was the basis of her pretensions, and she quoted the example of Madame de Montespan, who had obtained a grant of the same honors from Louis the XIVth. She maintained that there was nothing criminal in her connexion with the King, that it was a matter of mere *Platonic affection*, a connexion founded solely on sentiment and reason, and no one was to be found sincere enough to say that her continence was too involuntary, to tell much in her favor.

She was not, however, equally satisfied with the result, for in the midst of her triumph, she met with some of those mortifications which it is the delight of courtiers to contrive. She was presented to the Dauphin, who, according to the etiquette of the ceremony, was to honor her with a kiss; instead of which the Dauphin, who detested her, on her presenting her cheek for him to kiss, thrust his tongue out of his mouth, and gave other more expressive marks of the contempt he felt for her.

Madame de Pompadour could not have seen the act; but, as it was not long before she was told of it, she went instantly, in a transport of rage, to the King, and told him the whole of the circumstance: she related to him the ignominious manner in which she had been received, and, of course, represented it in the most flagrant point of view, and under the blackest colours that passion could suggest: she finished, by declaring that she was resolved to quit the Court altogether,

sooner than see herself exposed to insults of that kind.

The King, extremely exasperated at the conduct of the Dauphin, thought that such a mark of disrespect to Madame de Pompadour, was a mark of disrespect to him. He took up the quarrel, and the next day, when the Dauphin was about to pay his respects to him, he sent him orders to go instantly to his Castle of Meudon. The Queen, the Ministers, and almost the whole Court, interceded for him; but the King remained inflexible, he would not even hear of a reconciliation, but on the express condition that the Dauphin should go in person to Madame de Pompadour, and publicly deny what was alledged against him. The Dauphin submitted, and declared in presence of several persons, that what had been told to her was false, and that he had never done the act which was imputed to him.

Madame de Pompadour received this declaration in the stile of a Sovereign Princess,

and replied with equal truth, "that she never had given any credit to what had been told her on this subject." Madame de Pompadour, carried her complaisance to the length of engraving herself the likeness of the Dauphin; and thus finished this farcical scene.

The Dauphin was blamed for having degraded himself by so humiliating a step; but those who blamed him, did not perhaps, reflect on the double duties which he owed to the King in his qualities of son, and of subject. Whatever blame may be attached to this punishment there certainly is less to be imputed to him, who submitted to it, than to him by whose orders it was inflicted,

Madame de Pompadour having thus succeeded in obtaining the honours of the Louvre, was nevertheless not yet satisfied. Intoxicated by her success, she became still more enterprising, she thought her influence might advance her still higher, and she took it into her head to be appointed Lady of Honour to the Queen; a situation only conferred

on ladies of the highest birth, rank, and dignity. The Queen had made no opposition to her obtaining the honours of the Louvre, but she would have appeared void of sensibility, if she had seen, with indifference, a person who was so very disagreeable to her, forced upon her as a part of her establishment; nevertheless, she confined herself to making such remonstrances, as were correspondent to her extreme condescension to the wishes of the King; remonstrances which she thought sufficient to mark her dislike, although they were overruled by the absolute will of the King.

Without mentioning any of the other reasons that she had, and certainly they were unanswerable, and by how much the more unanswerable, by so much the more probable to displease the Monarch, she contented herself by representing with mild firmness, “that it would be too great a want of delicacy in her, to appoint to such an office, a person who lived in such a scandalous state of separation from her husband, that she did not even dare approach the altar to receive the Communion.

That, as for herself, she had nothing to say as to the innocence of her connection, or her commerce with the King; but allowing that to be the case, it by no means healed the breach in Madame de Pompadour's reputation, since, although she was a married woman, she lived as if she was not, in open violation of every duty of a married woman, whose proper place certainly was in her husband's house:" she added, "that his Majesty had the power of giving what orders he pleased; that she should always hold it her duty to obey them; but that she hoped, he himself had too much respect for the Royal Family, to offer them an insult of such a nature. That the place in question, was one that required to be filled by a person of the most unblemished honour and delicacy, and by no means fit for an excommunicated individual, who could not even presume to offer herself as a partaker of the general blessing of the Easter Sacrament."

The King who, on one hand, was extremely averse to disobliging the Queen, and to act in direct opposition to established rules; and

on the other, could not bring himself to refuse any thing to Madame de Pompadour, was plunged into the most cruel perplexity on what step to resolve ; the more so, as the objection raised by the Queen, the force and the reason of which he could not but be sensible, appeared unanswerable.

The Queen persisted in this objection, as it was the only one that admitted of no misconstruction ; for it was impossible that all the efforts of the most decided malice could give it a colour of offence. Madame de Pompadour herself, in spite of the fertility of her genius, gave up all hopes of getting over this obstacle which seemed insurmountable. What was to be done ? In fact whilst she continued to live in a dissolute state of separation from her husband, she could not, for two most cogent reasons, approach the altar to partake of the Easter Sacrament. The fear of being refused in a manner wounding to her feelings, or the mortification of hearing every one exclaim at the profanation of the sacred rites ; and such a profanation too, the most revolting,

and the most unpardonable of all others, a profanation inspired by pride, and executed by irreligion. A daring attempt of this kind which the Duke of Orleans, when Regent, had aimed at effecting, failed of success. All her projects thus appearing hopeless, what was to be done? Should she return to her husband, to a man of no importance? even if she did, that step would not benefit her; the mere wife of Monsieur d'Etioles, could never aspire to the dignity of being a Lady of Honour.

The mortification she felt, at missing her aim, which was already known at Court, had given her enemies such gratification, and so much pleasure, that it, added extremely to her vexation and uneasiness of mind. The King was much grieved at it, and the Court was in a transport of joy at her disappointment, but however, insurmountable the object appeared which thwarted her views, Madame de Pompadour at last found means to get the better of it. She wrote to her husband Monsieur d'Etioles, a letter in the stile of a penitent Magdalen, in which she assured him,

“ That she had shed many a tear over the in-
 “ justice she had been guilty of towards him,
 “ and that she sincerely repented of all the
 “ faults of her life. I acknowledge my error,”
 “ said she, “ and I have every wish to make
 amends for it. The most heinous part of
 “ my guilt has already ceased, and I have now
 “ only to cause the appearances of guilt to
 “ cease also, which I most ardently wish to
 “ do ; and I am resolved to wipe away by my
 “ future, whatever has been blamable in my
 “ past conduct. Suffer me, therefore, to return
 “ to you ; receive me again, and you shall see
 “ that my whole aim shall be to edify the
 “ world, by the affectionate manner in which
 “ I shall live with you, as much as I before
 “ gave cause for scandal by my separation
 “ from you.”

Whilst she was writing this letter, the
 Prince de Soubise waited on Monsieur d'E-
 tioles, and made known to him, that in the
 course of a few hours he would receive a let-
 ter from Madame de Pompadour ; that on
 the receipt of it he was perfectly at liberty to

do just as he pleased, that it was by no means intended to bias his resolution; on the contrary, it was wished that his answer should be perfectly unconstrained; but that he advised him, as a friend, *not* to accept the offers contained in the letter; for that if he did, he would, to a certainty, greatly disoblige the King, and that therefore he ought to reflect well what conduct he would adopt on the occasion.

To add weight to this advice, an edict of the Kings was presented to him, containing a very considerable augmentation to his share as a financier in the *droits de finance*. Monsieur d'Etioles, whose violent passion for his wife, was now a little calmed by the effects of time, and reflection, and who, restored to his reason, had changed his love into indifference and contempt; Monsieur d'Etioles, who also knew, what all the world was acquainted with, that the health of his wife rendered her as useless to him as she was to the King. Monsieur d'Etioles, lastly, surrounded by Mistresses, would have been greatly

embarrassed by taking her back, even if less had been said of it, and if his refusal had not been so well paid; exclusive of which, perhaps, he was not altogether sorry in having so good an occasion of revenging himself on the King, in leaving on his hands, at a time when he could say, with truth, that he would not have received her back, the useless piece of furniture, of which his Majesty had deprived him.

He merely kept up appearances, with regard to what was required of him, so as to make a merit of his compliance, and to avoid expressing his contempt towards a person from whom he had every thing to hope, and every thing to fear; in a word, the Prince de Soubise had every reason to congratulate himself on the success of his mission.

M. d'Etiöles received, therefore, as he was prepared to do, the letter of Madame de Pompadour, and answered it according to the spirit of the instructions given to him. He began by congratulating her on her return to

a way of thinking more worthy of herself ; and then depicted to her the excess of misery she had plunged him into, by separating herself from him ; he said, that the grief, inflicted on him by that separation, had left a wound too deep to admit of any cure ; that, nevertheless, he was inclined to forget her error, and sincerely forgave it ; but, that his resolution was decidedly taken, never to live with her again ; as a cohabitation with her, was what she herself could not reasonably expect." This refusal, although couched in the most studied, most polite, and most respectful terms, was a decided one, and as positive as could have been desired.

Possessed of these documents of justification, a copy of the letter she had written to her husband, and his answer in reply to it ; she took care to tell every one, who took any interest in her concerns. " She *had* sinned, it was true ; but it was also true she had repented of her sin. She could no longer be reproached for not living with her husband,

since it was not her fault, as she had done all in her power to return to him; she had offered so to do, but she had been refused."

Matters once placed in this point of view, she soon found not *one* Bishop, but twenty, ready to give her every indulgence on the point in question, and to lead her themselves to the altar, to participate in the mysteries of religion, by receiving the sacrament.

The Jesuits, alone, who well remembered what had passed in the time of Louis the XIVth were divided in opinion about it.

This planned arrangement, in which Religion was evidently made a dupe of, it is true, deceived nobody; but it had the desired effect of doing away the principal objection which prevented her from being included in the suite of the Queen; and this Princess accustomed to give up her own wishes, no longer made any opposition

to her appointment, but contented herself with saying, with a smile, "It is not proper for me to alledge all my reasons, and you have taken advantage of my silence, to deprive me of any further pretext." " .

Every well-meaning person, at Court, was grieved at this fresh proof of the power and boundless ambition of the Marchioness; but it must be acknowledged, that she always behaved herself towards the Queen with all the respect, and all the humility, and submission, to which she was obliged by her duty.

It was impossible for her to act otherwise. She knew the King's sentiments on that head, and was well aware that his delicacy would lead him to be offended at the slightest shadow of an insult, in any way offered to the Queen; and she was equally certain, that all his partiality for her would not save her from his just re-

sentment, if the Queen preferred a complaint against her.

Art here performed the part of nature. She made what was her interest appear meritorious, and what was really the fruits of the King's virtue, she assumed the credit of, as coming from herself.

CHAPTER V.

Sources of the hatred borne by Madame de Pompadour to the Jesuits. Reasons which induced her to attend her Easter Devotions, and to frequent the Communion Table. She applies to Pere de Sacy. Resentment of the Company of Jesus. Hesitations of P. de Sacy. Rage of Madame de Pompadour against him and his fraternity.

PREVIOUS to succeeding in her affair of installation into her situation as lady of the palace, Madame de Pompadour had entertained an idea of entering into a treaty with the clergy for an absolution, to enable her to perform her Easter Devotions, and to give to the Queen, on this point, every satisfaction which that Princess could desire; when she should require that Madame de Pompadour, according to the prescribed etiquette, should be obliged to furnish proofs of her being a Christian, and of her adherence to the duties of her religion.

As to obtaining an absolution, that was no very difficult matter for Madame de Pompadour to effect; for there were numerous Priests, in Paris, ready to grant her one, but Madame de Pompadour would not be satisfied with the absolution of an obscure Confessor, she knew, perfectly well, that both the Court and the Capital would not have failed to say of her, what was said of the Regent on a similar occasion, when he received the communion in his parish church, of St. Eustatius. She was, exclusive of that, extremely well informed on the general principles of Christianity, and of those duties which religion required of her. She was apprehensive that the very day that she should be seen at the communion table, there would be a general cry of sacrilege against her; and it is very certain, that if she had permitted herself to have shared this solemn ceremony, without first having had an absolution from some well-known confessor, a thousand bitter sarcasms, and a thousand ballads would have lampooned both the penitent, the abso-

lution, and the tabouret.* Madame de Pompadour, who saw matters very clearly on this point, took it into her head to have a Confessor in high stile; to have him entitled *her* Confessor, and, like the King, to select him from the Jesuits, whose exclusive, and most honorable prerogative it was to direct in France the conscience of its Kings, or, at all events, to have this right, and this title in their quality of Confessors,

Madame de Pompadour was perfectly right in her calculations, as to the responsibility attached to an absolution, by treating for it with a Jesuit; by that means, she threw on a celebrated, powerful, and respectable fraternity, all the blame resulting from an indulgence of that nature. The Prince de Soubise, who was her tool, took on himself the choice of the Jesuit, and the preliminary negociation; he gave the preference, for this operation to the P. de Sacy, and went in

* Tabouret is a small stool which Ladies, presented to the Queen, have the right of being seated on in her presence.

person, to bring him from the Convent of the society.

Father de Sacy, was by the mildness of his character, and his indulgent principles, a personage of great note in the society. He was by birth a gentleman, and after having filled several distinguished situations in his Society, he was become Procureur General of the Missionaries. The Prince de Soubise gave him to understand that there was but a step between the office of Confessor to Madame de Pompadour, and that of Confessor to the King; and that his acquiescence with the wishes of that Lady, would be the surest way to procure the direction of the conscience of Louis the XV.

Father de Sacy consented to see Madame de Pompadour on the business, and to endeavour to find some mode of conciliating the respect she evinced for her religious duties; with the exterior customs of that religion. If this transaction had been possible, she would have opposed the devout and jesuitical Court of the Queen; composed of P. Gréffet; of the

Cardinal de Luynes, of the Bishop of Verdun, and Monsieur de Nicolay, by another Court equally devout and jesuitical, and would have completely silenced, and put a stop to the constant insinuations, and reflections of the Dauphin, and the religious party, who were perpetually holding up to ridicule and contempt, the libertine and citizen-like manners of Madame de Pompadour. But the faction of the Devotees readily saw through the crafty and bold schemes of Madame de Pompadour, and the Father de Sacy became a subject of fresh, and great uneasiness to them.

Father de Sacy, himself, was by no means ignorant of the dangers of his own situation; he had frequent interviews with Madame de Pompadour, but instead of talking to her of confession and absolution; doubts; perplexing embarrassments; repeated visits; were the only weapons the casuist made use of, to defend himself from the pressing eagerness of Madame de Pompadour. The increasing ambition of the favorite, which made her so ardently desire a speedy absolution, could little brook, or

pardon these flimsy prevarications.. It is true that in these conferences, Father de Sacy did not absolutely refuse Madame de Pompadour what she required of him, but then on the other hand, he declined giving her any promise of complying with her wishes. The uncertainty, whether he would ultimately decide favorably, or unfavorably, as to her absolution, irritating and tormenting the secret and natural impatience of Madame de Pompadour, she endeavoured by every possible mode in her power, to express, and to shew her resentment, at the procrastinations of the confessor, who on his part alledged, that he was retarded as well by the great circumspection he was obliged to use, to avoid compromising his order, as by the Laws and Custom of the Church, to which he was obliged to pay the most scrupulous attention. In the mean time, it was reported in Paris that the Father de Sacy, had frequent conferences with Madame de Pompadour; that he was appointed her confessor; and that he had secret and private intercourses with her; this report became so prevalent, that it was soon decided in the minds

of the Parisians, that these visits were very indecorous, and unbecoming in a man of his character. All the Jeuits in Paris, and all those persons remarkable for religion and piety, blamed the too great condescension and facility of Father de Sacy; he explained to his Society, how far he had gone with Madame de Pompadour; and he received from his superiors, orders, to discontinue his visits; to explain to Madame de Pompadour the duties of a conscientious confessor, and to make the best excuse he could to her, for having trifled with her so long.

“The absolution you desire, Madam,” said the Father de Sacy to her, “cannot be granted to you; your remaining at Court without your husband; the rumours relative to your connexion with the King, all forbid your approaching the communion table, and of course receiving absolution. The Priest who should give it to you, instead of absolving you, would pronounce a double condemnation, yours, and his own; whilst the public, who ever pass sentence on the conduct

of persons in an elevated situation, would ultimately confirm it. It is your wish, Madam, and you have expressed that wish to me, to fulfil the duties of a good christian; to give a good example is the first of duties; and to obtain and to merit an absolution, the first step to be taken, is to reunite yourself to Monsieur d'Etioles; or at least to quit the Court, and by so doing, put a stop to that scandal with which you certainly may justly be reproached, for living separate from your husband."

Madame de Pompadour, on being told that she must quit the King, go back to Monsieur d'Etioles, and leave the Court altogether before she could merit or obtain an absolution, which she only valued as a means of triumph over the Queen, and the party of His Royal Highness the Dauphin, in enabling her to fill the situation of Lady of the Palace, gave herself up to all the fury of passion, and broke out in invectives against the Jesuit, who was naturally of a mild and moderate disposition, and his natural timidity had led him to attempt

conciliating that respect due to religion, with that due to the Mistress of the Monarch.

But as the Mistresses of our Princes are all haughty and imperious, and wish to discover either a marked hatred, or boundless attachment to themselves, and their interests in the courtiers, in order to punish or make them useful accordingly. Madame de Pompadour in the heat of her passion, replied nearly in these terms to the Pere de Sacy.

“ You are an ignorant impostor, Father, and a true Jesuit; do you understand me? you have been amusing yourself with my embarrassment, and the need you thought I stood in of you. I know very well, it is your wish I should be separated from the King, but I will soon shew you that my power is as great and firm here, as you believed it feeble and tottering; and spite of all the Jesuits in existence, I will remain at Court.”

The poor Jesuit, greatly terrified, was immediately dismissed, and Madame de Pom-

padour formed the closest union with Monsieur de Choiseul, to plan in concert with him, the means of accelerating, and obtaining from a weak Monarch, whose favorites they were, the destruction of the Jesuits. By her constant attendance at the Communion table, she conceived she should disarm the Dauphin's party, or that of the Jesuits, which still had great influence at Court; and the means which she employed for that purpose, not having succeeded, she resolved on the ruin of the party she stood in fear of, and with which she found it impracticable to bring about a negociation.

CHAPTER VI.

One of the causes of the good fortune of Monsieur le Duc de Choiseul, known formerly at Court by the name of the Comte de Stainville. Anecdotes respecting the Jesuits.

THE influence of the party of the Devotees at Court, was counterbalanced by that of the party in the interest of the favorite. The Comte de Stainville, (since Duke of Choiseul) whose character was a mixture of audacity, independence, and ambition ; of very illustrious birth, but without fortune, thought the surest way of procuring one, was to attach himself to the interests of the favorite. The inclination which the King had shewn for Madame de Choiseul, his cousin, gave him an opportunity of proving to Madame de Pompadour the interest he took in her welfare. This lady having communicated to him a declaration of love made to her in the King's own hand-writing ; and having asked his advice to the conduct she should pur-

sue on such an occasion ; M. de Stainville, who was very clear sighted, immediately judged that the actual influence of Madame de Pompadour was more solid, and more likely to be profitable to him, than that of his cousin, which was yet to be established ; Stainville therefore requested of her to entrust to him this letter, of Louis the XVth that he might reflect, at his leisure, on the kind of answer most suitable to be made to it. Madame de Choiseul entrusted this letter to Monsieur de Stainville, and he communicated it to Madame de Pompadour, who became extremely jealous of Madame de Choiseul.

Madame de Pompadour had the merit of being able to appreciate a service of this kind, and to recompence the person from whom it proceeded. Flattered by the preference which Monsieur de Stainville manifested towards her, in preference to his cousin, she entered into the closest connection with him, and pledged herself to forward his advancement.

It will be recollected that Monsieur de Choiseul was, in the first instance, sent as the King's Ambassador to Rome. Arrived there, he received the accustomed visits of ceremony from the Cardinals, and the Generals of the different Religious Orders. The General of the Jesuits did not forget his duty on that occasion; and was so frequent in his visits at the Ambassador's, that Monsieur de Stainville, having asked him, one day, if he could not give him some information about a Father Jesuit, of whom he wished to acquire a thorough knowledge of; the General told the Ambassador, that in less than twenty-four hours he would give him every particular respecting him, he wished for; and, in fact, the next day he brought him such circumstantial details respecting the French Jesuit, whom the Ambassador was anxious to be informed of, that he was astonished at the celerity, the exactitude, the minute detail, as well as the singularity of the circumstances contained in the General's information. "Do not be surprised, Monsieur l'Ambassadeur," replied the Monk;

“ every year our rectors send to the provincial heads of our colleges, remarks and notes on the character, the understanding, the abilities and acquirements, the conduct and occupations of each member of the society. The head of the College makes out a list for the service of France; and the French assistant, who is resident at Rome, under my eye, gives me an account, when called on, of the turn of mind and abilities of any particular Monk of the Society.”

Monsieur de Stainville, whose aim was to arrive at the situation of Prime Minister, was alarmed at this well-concerted harmony; and, since that time, as he had many things to reproach himself with, relative to his connexions with this society, he joined his influence to that of Madame de Pompadour to effect their destruction, and thereby to deprive the Dauphin, as chief of the opposite party, of that support which might so reasonably be expected from an Order of such power, and influence, in all the Catholic States of Europe.

In proportion as the party of Madame de Pompadour acquired strength, the opposite party gave them proofs of their resentment. Monsieur de Richelieu was one of those who shewed the greatest independence, in his conduct, towards Madame de Pompadour.

CHAPTER VII.

Fresh affronts received by Madame de Pompadour. The Maréchal Duke of Richélieu refuses to marry the Duke de Fronsac, his son, to Madame Alexandrine. Anecdotes relative to this young person, and to Monsieur Poisson, the Brother of Madame de Pompadour, to whom had been given the title of Marquis of Marigny.

MADAME DE POMPADOUR had so high an opinion of her influence, and of the respect due to her from the nobles composing the Court, that, exclusive of the refusal of an absolution, which I have just related, she received several other affronts; one, in particular, from a Peer of France. The higher orders of nobility, as well as the Church, were always secretly disgusted and indignant at being obliged to shew respect to this woman, whose residence at Court, considered in any point of view, was marked with every

sort of impropriety and infamy. Let us refer to an anecdote relative to Monsieur de Richelieu.

Louis the XVth, who was accustomed to see, at the house of the Favorite, Mademoiselle Alexandrine her daughter, became very fond of her, and gave her so many proofs of his affection, that Alexandrine acquired the habit of calling Louis the XVth *her papa*. The Duke de Fr^{an}çoisac, eldest son of the Duke de Richelieu, was the nobleman whom the King fixed his eye upon to marry her; he even went so far as to speak to the Maréchal on the matter; who replied to him, "Sire, I will ask the consent of the House of Lorraine." The Maréchal was, in fact, nearly allied to it by his marriage with his second wife, who was, by birth, Princess of Guise. This answer was taken as a polite mode of giving a refusal to the proposition: yet the King, by his after conduct, shewed that he was too just to have been displeased with the Duke, who continued as great a favorite as before; and, perhaps, was still more esteemed,

for having resisted the temptation of acquiring immense wealth, by rejecting the degrading alliance of Madame d'Etioles, formerly Miss Jeanne Poisson;

As to Mademoiselle Alexandrine, she very much resembled Madame de Pompadour; she was very handsome, very lively, and very haughty in consequence of the favor of her mother, which perhaps was less to be attributed to her natural disposition, than to the flatteries by which she was perpetually assailed. She was placed as a boarder in the Convent of the Assumption of Notre Dame, where she was educated:

At the same time Madame Charlotte de Rohan Soubise, daughter of the Prince of Soubise, since married to the Prince of Condé; was a boarder in this Convent, with several other young ladies of the very first distinction. Either from ignorance, or arrogant self conceit, Alexandrine d'Etioles took it into her head, one day, to dispute the point of precedence with the Princess; she was soon made

sensible of her error; but Madame de Pompadour, on being informed of the circumstance, only observed "she certainly was guilty of a breach of politeness."

This Alexandrine died, in the year 1764, in the same Convent, of the small-pox, at the age of thirteen or fourteen years, at the very time that her mother was occupied, by way of revenging herself on Monsieur de Richelieu, in bringing about a marriage for her, with one of the Princes of the House of Nassau.

When the human heart is entirely given up to pride, vanity and avarice, it is scarcely capable of feeling the finer sensibilities of nature, and it would be doing her too much honor to believe that she was sincerely alive to them. The King was really much affected by the loss of Alexandrine, and as far as exterior went, Madame de Pompadour seemed much grieved, but the intrigues and the bustle of the Court soon made her forget her sorrow. If any thing could have been capable of affecting her, it was the re-

flection that this death deprived her, in the eyes
 of the world, and of her own connexions, of
 all plausible reason that could justify her pas-
 sion for hoarding up treasures. She no longer
 could say, "she had a dearly-beloved child,
 for whose sake she was amassing money." Al-
 though deprived of that pretext, which those
 who are so fond of hoarding money; never
 fail to alledge as an excuse for their conduct;
 and to palliate its odious and criminal tenden-
 cy, yet was she not the less a slave to avarice,
 and ambition. The loss of her daughter only
 served to prove that she was avaricious for the
 sake of avarice, since she caught at all means
 of gratifying that passion, not a whit the less
 after, than before the death of Alexandrine.

The Marquis de Marigny, her brother, and
 the presumptive heir of her immense riches;
 would have furnished her with a sufficient rea-
 son for desisting from the practice of amass-
 ing money, instead of acting as a stimulus
 for persisting in it, if she had not been actuated
 by motives of self-gratification.

The contempt she felt for him, arose from his natural want of sense and capacity, which rendered it impossible for him to profit by the advantages she procured for him, either in making a proper use of them, or doing her honour by his application of them. Her vanity was too much wounded by his conduct, to suffer her to be attached to him, and the embarrassments which the mock Marquis was the cause of to her, were easily perceivable. She had the mortification to see him perpetually held up as an object of ridicule to the courtiers, and as a mark for the insults of the whole world; and to know, that the contempt which he met with, was all owing to his want of merit. But she had the folly to think, that it was the effect of envy at his good fortune, although in reality what she took for envy, was only a mixture of contempt and indignation, in those who reflected on the origin of her power, and the abuse she had made of it. She would have ardently wished to have attributed to this cause, the discredit of her brother; but seeing the impossibility of so doing, with any shadow of reason, she chose, herself, to join with those who laughed

at him, rather than have her judgment and penetration suspected by taking up his defence.

It was, nevertheless, generally believed he would be her sole heir, or at least would inherit the greatest part of her property; the reason for that belief was, that she loved no person but herself. Her brother would carry the palm away from all others, merely because he was her brother, as in that quality he might still have some pretence for getting the better of that extreme indifference, which she had for every other human being but herself; by way of diminishing the shame of making so bad a use of her property, and in the hope of his having children, who would be the more worthy of it; she made several useless trials to get him married, but she was too nice in her choice of a wife for him, and this overstrained nicety destroyed all her plans; she would have had no difficulty in finding amongst the poor nobility, or persons of obscure origin, some woman on whose mind the idea of grandeur, riches, and dignity, would have soon got the better of repugnance to such

a degrading alliance; but that did not suit the views of Madame de Pompadour, who not only made it an essential point, that the family in which she should place her brother, should be of ancient nobility, but also that it should be rich, and as distinguished by its rank, as by the consequence of the offices it held.

In those days, families such as she sought for, were not found so easily as she imagined; for those distinguished by delicacy of sentiment, would have been very little tempted to expose themselves to the ridicule, which an alliance of this sort, would infallibly have brought on them. In the mean time, Monsieur de Marigny was doomed to lead a life of celibacy; but it was to be hoped that it would not last for ever, those who are curious as to our story, would for ever deplore the extinction of the illustrious House of the Poissons.

From these facts, it may be conceived how much the King must have suffered, privately, both on account of the favorite and of her brother. The King respected and paid the

highest regard to decorum and to decency ; the low bred manners of Madame de Pompadour, might please him at Choisi, or in his private apartment ; but I much doubt if he was not shocked every time that he met Poisson, transformed into a Marquis.

CHAPTER VIII.

Hatred of Madame de Pompadour, towards the Clergy of France. Motives for that hatred. Anecdotes relative to Monsieur de Fitz James, Bishop of Soissons.

THE perpetual oppositions which Madame de Pompadour met with, from the party of the Devotees, at Court, greatly exasperated her both against the church and its clergy, and against Monsieur de Fitz James, Bishop of Soissons, she conceived, in particular, a most deep and deadly hatred.

This prelate having shewn a great deal of severity against Madame de Châteauroux, at Metz, when the King's life was despaired of; Madame de Pompadour fancied to herself, that in every Bishop of the Kingdom, she saw so many Fitz James's, and she apprehended, in every slight cold the King was troubled with, a mortal illness, which would precipitate her

from the *species* of throne, which she had set up at Court, on a level with that of the King. She beheld, in the person of the Dauphin, who was in fact the hopes and the support of the Juits, a Prince deeply exasperated against her, and who would not fail to shut her up in a Convent, the moment that Louis the XVth should be no more. This woman, perpetually tormented by her fears, lost no opportunity of disappointing the views of the Bishop of Soissons, who had the Pretender's assurances, and even titular nomination to the hat of a Cardinal. The King himself, whom Madame de Pompadour was continually tormenting, by reminding him of the scenes at Metz, refused to give his sanction to this nomination. The Cardinal de Tencin, then took on himself to open a negociation with the Pretender, for a nomination to this hat, in favor of Monsieur de Luynes, Archbishop of Sens, and Madame the Dauphiness, who had a great respect for this prelate, interesting herself very much in the success of this promotion, Monsieur de Luynes was named Cardinal.

He was a benevolent, enlightened man, much beloved by the Dauphin and his spouse, and one of the prelates of the French Church, whose virtues do honour to their dignity and situation. It was determined that he should refuse to any confessor, the power of listening to the confession of Madame de Pompadour, who always went to Fontainbleau, a town situated within his diocese, whenever she wished to perform her devotions.

CHAPTER IX.

Origin of the hatred which Madame de Pompadour conceived against the Catholic Religion and its Ministers.

AFTER the circumstances I have related, it will be seen, that on every side, Madame de Pompadour was surrounded by ingratitude and false friends. In vain did she dispose of the public treasures, as she thought proper ; in vain had she the power of nomination to dignities, and to employments ; her services, it is true, were received, and she was solicited by interested persons, for favors which were no sooner granted, than others were required ; but at bottom, she was detested and despised, whilst every one was humiliated by the painful alternative of being either doomed to neglect, or to pay court to her, as the only channel for promotion. All this was well known to her, and was the cause that every

day her temper became more soured. The independence of the Clergy, of His R. H. the Dauphin and of his party, distressed her beyond measure, and she was suspected of holding out the most flattering terms to the enemies of the Dauphin and the Clergy, that she might, through their means, strengthen her own party; but, after all, her party, however great their audacity, never would have had much power at Court, the King being naturally of a religious turn of mind, and, in this instance, a worthy descendant of St. Louis.

In the Capital, there is always a number of men of letters, who are called (Free Thinkers) *Esprits forts*,* not because their understanding, or powers of genius are superior to those of others, but because of the boldness of their writings against the Established Religion. At their head was Mon-

* In literal English, men of strong genius; but what is generally understood by this term in French is, the Wits of the Day

sieur de Voltaire, who was, it must be allowed, a very great poet, but who, at the same time ; was, in the eyes of all thinking men, a very dangerous man, in a political point of view ; because in his conversations, he was in the habit of turning into ridicule every thing which is held sacred amongst men : his writings, although stamped with great freedom, were still sufficiently masked to be tolerated ; all that was wanting was, that he should take off the mask altogether, to shew his true character, and he then would have been found, what his writings proclaimed him, a Free Thinker.

He had been in habits of great intimacy with Madame de Pompadour, when she was only Madame le Normant d'Etioles, and had involved himself in some very disagreeable affairs, on account of his political opinions, which gave great umbrage to the Government. Madame de Pompadour, delighted to have a man of such wit and influence at her disposal, resolved to place him at the head of a party, whose study it should be to attack

religion, to turn it into ridicule, to ransack history for the errors and crimes of the Ministers of its Altars in former ages, and to bring them forward to the world, for the purpose of disgracing, degrading, and distressing the Clergy of the present day.

The Church of France, on its part, despised Madame de Pompadour, but suffered, through her ephemeral interest. The Clergy clung still closer to the Dauphin, and lamented the weakness of the King. Madame de Pompadour, who dreaded losing the Prince, resolved to involve the Clergy in quarrels amongst themselves, and to give them so many causes of uneasiness, that the Church should have enough to do with her own affairs, without interfering with the pleasures of the King. She resolved to live and die Mistress of Louis the XVth; and to maintain herself in that situation, cunning and violence, falsehood and truth, were all called in to her service. Woe to that body of men, or to those individuals that should dare to interfere with the

pleasures of the King, and of Madame de Pompadour.

It was impossible to calculate the consequences of that independence of all religious restraint which those infidel writers, and creatures of Madame de Pompadour affected to live in. Monsieur de Choiseul, after a time, joined their party; he, nevertheless, dreaded the anger of Louis the XVth who was religious and devout even in the very midst of his pleasures, and who carried his religious prejudices to such a degree, that he prized his lineal descent from Saint Louis, whom he knew to be in Heaven, full as much as he did that from his father, by which he became possessor of the first crown in the world.

CHAPTER X.

Portraits of some of the Personages of the Court, who were of the opposite party to Madame de Pompadour.

IN proportion as Madame de Pompadour appeared, to acquire additional ascendancy over the mind of the King; the Court of the Queen seemed gloomy, and dejected. Although it was not openly expressed; yet, in secret, there was much bitterness and resentment. The Dauphin's first wife had brought with her from Madrid, a haughty and serious disposition, as well as the manners and the politeness of a Castilian. Her mother, who was the most ambitious of women, had educated her with a view to make her the tool of her wishes, when she should become Queen of France, and history will one day, doubtless, relate all this woman's contrivances to procure crowns for the children of Philip the Vth the issue

of his second marriage with her. The young Dauphiness, during the short period she lived, soon forgot the instructions of her mother, which were, to get an exclusive influence over the mind of her husband, and to govern him. She became, however, not the Governness, but the *friend* of the Dauphin, who was passionately fond of her. The King, on the death of his daughter-in-law, ordered her writing desk to be brought to him, which H. R. H. the Dauphin had neither dared to look into, to refuse, nor to conceal the contents, from the inspection of his father: in it were found the Queen of Spain's instructions to her daughter; besides which, there was found a cypher to decypher her letters to her mother, and another cypher for her to use in writing to Madrid. In the correspondence with her mother, it was plainly proved she had totally neglected her interest, and that of her brothers, and attended solely to the attachment she bore her husband. The King, who had a good heart, was much affected at this proof of conjugal love, and he shewed to several noblemen passages of her letters, say-

ing, at the same time, to them, " See what attachment she bore to France ! what a good Frenchwoman she was ! Ah, how I pity my son ! "

The virtuous and regular life led by the Dauphin and his Wife, was a bitter and striking reflection on the life of the King, who lived in a state of separation from his wife.

The Queen was no longer either young, or handsome ; she had, nevertheless, some remaining attractions, and a great deal of personal merit.

The Dauphin's second wife was a Saxon by birth ; and brought with her, into France, a deep and ambitious character capable of very great undertakings. She had received a more studied and more diversified education, than that of the Princesses. She was learned, without any of those singularities which learning generally gives a woman. She lived in a very retired manner with her husband,

shewing herself very little at a Court where the Favorite wished to reign as Sovereign.

The King's daughters shewed a marked attachment to their mother and their brother; they were, like them, in opposition to the party of Madame de Pompadour; they felt awkward at the attentions, which she regarded they bore to their father, obliged them to pay to Madame de Pompadour, and which were very painful to them; and they were distressed to see the influence she possessed, and the insignificance in which the Dauphin of France was obliged to pass his life. There was no expression of contempt, or severity that this party did not apply to the Favorite, in their private meetings; when they reflected that they could not dispose of a single situation, or employment, without procuring them through the channel, or with the consent of Madame de Pompadour.

The Favorite kept up that repugnance in the King, which seemed to be natural to him,

to ceding any part of his authority to his son ; and contemplating, in the reign of this Prince, the term of her influence, and, perhaps, of her liberty, the Dauphin of France was, in her eyes, a personage whose tastes ; inclinations ; principles ; and attachments, were all to be studied, only for the pleasure of secretly thwarting and opposing them. It was this intriguing and wicked woman, who succeeded, but too well, in fixing upon this Prince, the character, which he has ever since had, of a narrow-mind, and of having those ridiculous partialities for the minutiae of religion, which are so totally unbecoming, and so little consistent with his illustrious birth.

Exclusive of the Royal Family, there were the Duke de Luynes, his wife, Monsieur de Nicolay, Bishop of Verdun, and the Cardinal de Luynes, who were distinguished characters in the party attached to the Queen and the Dauphin ; as was also Madame de Marsan, a professed devotee, whom circum-

stances did not permit to be left out, when an Establishment was formed, for the education of the children of the Dauphin.

At the death of Madame the Duchess of Tallard, governess of the Prince's children, and who was a remarkable character, at Court, Madame the Comtesse de Marsan was chosen as her successor. Madame de Tallard loved play, and late hours; she had a good deal of wit, and of dignity and nobleness of expression. She constituted Chauvelin, the former Keeper of the Seals, her executor under her will; and before her death, distributed her jewels and her snuff boxes amongst her friends. On the day she died, she selected the finest diamond-ring she had, and put it on her finger; and her waiting maid attempting to take it off, and to put it by, in a place of safety. "I shall expire very soon," said she, "and I have left it in my will, that Monsieur Chauvelin is to have the diamond ring which I wore at the time of my death." Madame de Tal-

lard's situation,¹ brought her in *115,000 livres a year, from the King; for at the birth of each child, her salary encreased 35,000† livres. This augmentation was permanent, even after their education was finished. She was separated from her husband, by mutual consent; lived at an immense expense, and was most deeply in debt. Malice, and, perhap, calumnys pursued her even after her death.

As to the Countess of Marsan, she never ceased giving proofs of that affectionate and zealous attachment, for which she was so remarkable, to the Jesuits, the Sulpicians, the Devotees, and the whole of the party, attached to H. R. H. the Dauphin.

If her understanding had not been cramped by the narrow notions of enthusiastic devotion; and had she not been restrained from entertaining ideas, and con-

* About five thousand pounds sterling

† About fifteen hundred pounds sterling

siderations more natural to herself, she would have made the Children of France, worthy of their illustrious birth; but, even as it was, there never could be a doubt from her zeal and attachment, of her making the grand children of Louis the XVth respectable men.

CHAPTER XI.

State of France, at the period of the dreadful attack on the Life of Louis the XVth. Investigation of the conduct of the Court on that occasion, in endeavouring to conceal the causes which led to it. Anecdote of a Clerk in the General Post Office of London, brought to France, by two French Captains of the Navy.

WE are on the eve, I much fear,* of a deep laid conspiracy. The King of France, a Prince of the mildest disposition, and of the most interesting exterior, is attempted to be assassinated by a monster. All France is in alarm. We owe to our King what every good Frenchman owes to him, on an occasion of this sort. But we also owe to his successors the lessons of history.

* The Translator is at a loss to account for the constant use which Monsieur de Soulasie, makes of the present tense, when describing past events; as it appeared to lessen the interest of the narrator, the Translator has taken the liberty, in some places, to change it to the preterite; here it is impracticable without destroying the sense of the passage.

What circumstances marked this assassination abroad ?

What other circumstances marked it at home ?

What documents in the trial of the monster who struck the blow, are more particularly worthy of reflection ?

And what parts of the trial, merit to be neglected, or omitted, as dubious, illusive, or of no consequence to future history ?

The State of France, relative to Foreign Powers.

England, seeing us negotiating an alliance, with Maria Theresa, was alarmed at this Continental Coalition.

The King of Prussia perceived that his destruction was evidently aimed at.

The Protestant States foresaw an encrease of power in all the Catholic Courts.

England clearly saw that a blow was aimed at her Commerce, at her Constitution, and against the Succession of the House of Hanover, established on the throne of the Stuarts. Causes of the seven years war.

The interior State of France.

In the interior, the Court of France, and the Parliaments were engaged in discussions dangerous to the Royal Authority, and to that of the Courts of Judicature, the Grand Chamber, only, was obedient to the King; the other chambers were dissolved, and the public mind was in a state of the greatest fermentation.

The Jesuits, and the Jansonists were engaged in the most scandalous and indecent quarrels.

The same dissensions existed at Court; the party attached to the Dauphin, and that attached to the favorite, were almost at open war with one another.

Under these circumstances (It was) that Louis the XVth received a stab with a poignard. What a lesson for Governments! Let it teach them that in disputes of this nature, it is more particularly against their persons, that the foreign enemy, who prepares the blow, takes his aim.

The more attentively we persue those original documents, of the trial of the Parricide*, Damiens, which the Government permitted to be published, the more we are convinced that the Court of France had tied up the hands of the Judges, and had only permitted them to use the necessary forms of law, to enable them to punish the crime, whilst it carefully concealed the causes which led to it. I requested a Peer of France, who sat as one of the Judges, on Damien's trial, to give me the notes he took on that occasion; and my preceding observations are confirmed by them; the reader may judge for himself, for I will give these notes word for word as I received them from him.

* Du parricide.

But it is not in the papers of this trial, that what history looks for in a case of this sort, can be found ; it is precisely in the very papers which have *not* been published, that the truths which in this case would be so interesting, are to be found.

The interests of history and of truth, are too often incompatible, and at variance with the interests of Governments.

I am now going to bring forward a circumstance which the Parliament took especial care to omit, as the affairs of Kings do not come under their jurisdiction. They terminate our own individual quarrels, at our own expence ; but Kings settle their disputes with their armies. The document to which I allude, is relative to the plots attributed to England, in this cruel affair, or rather the violent party which had the upper hand in that island, and were decidedly hostile to us.

About fourteen days after the attempt to assassinate Louis the XVth, two Captains

of the Navy, Imbert and Duperrier, called upon the Minister for Foreign Affairs, and declared to him, that they had information to give, as to the causes of the assassination of Louis the XVth ; these officers were taken Prisoners of War, by the English, and carried to London, from whence they made their escape ; returning to France, in company with a man belonging to the Post Master General, of the Post Office in London, they declared, that they learned from this Englishman, that the Anti Gallican party had determined on the destruction of this kingdom, rather than see England ruined by an alliance between France and Austria ; they further said ; that the English emissaries, and other persons who were bought over to their interests by large sums of money, fomented the disturbances which existed amongst the clergy, between the Jansénists and the Molinists ; as well as those between the great body of the Clergy, and the Parliament ; and those between the parties of the King's favorite, and that of the Dauphin ; and that when the public mind should be sufficiently agitated, and exasperated, and above all when

the Royal Family should be completely at variance, that then a blow would be struck at the life of the King, whilst the Dauphin of France, the friend of peace, the enemy of war, and the present alliance, become King, would leave England and Prussia to tranquillity and repose.

According to the statement of this Englishman, the coalition against Prussia was of such a nature, that nothing short of a miracle, or the most unlooked for success, could save it from being wholly destroyed; and this, without any advantage resulting to France, except that of endeavouring to please Maria Theresa, and exhausting our resources for her benefit; whilst England, in spite of the capture of Minorca, would make France sorely repent having undertaken the present war.

This is what appears most probable as to the consequences of the resentment of our exterior enemies, relative to the change in the principles of our diplomacy. But, as will readily be imagined, the Parliament of Paris was not competent

to settling a business of this kind; and we should not take upon ourselves to form a decided opinion on the mere report of an Englishman, if other proofs and considerations did not, at the same time persuade us, that the foreign foe has various modes of accomplishing his purpose, either by a change of reigns, or by the fall of Madame de Pompadour, and her new system of politics.

Let us see what was done in the Grand Chamber to which, by his letters patent, the King particularly entrusted the trial of the monster Damiens.

CHAPTER XII.

Particular circumstances attending the assassination of Louis the XVth, by Damiens. The situation of the Court of France at that moment. Sittings of the Parliament. Debates. Transactions of the Great Chamber. Execution of Damiens.

THE notes which I now affix to my narrative were given to me by a judicious collector of the anecdotes of the Court, who sat as a judge in this business; he is by nature scrupulous, timid and of unshaken veracity; faith therefore will, I doubt not, be given to his narration.

Yesterday, the 4th of January 1757, the King, after dinner, came from Trianon, to see Madame Victoire who was slightly indisposed, he had given orders for every thing to be ready for his return to Trianon, at half past five in the afternoon, and his carriages

were in waiting at the door of the New Guard Room*. The King came down stairs at six o'clock, preceded by Monsieur de Montmirel, having on his right and left, Monsieur de Brionne and Monsieur le Premier, and in front Monsieur de Baudreville, equerry in waiting; His Highness the Dauphin was on the left side of him, and M. le Duc d'Ayen behind him. There are several steps to go down between the Hall of the Guards, to the court yard; he was on the last step, when feeling a blow on his right side, he exclaimed, "some one has given me a rude blow with his elbow;" at the same moment, a man about forty-five years of age, dressed in brown, with a brown great coat, was observed with his hat on his head, "do you not see the King?" said His Royal Highness the Dauphin; one of the Body Guards took his hat off and threw it down, whilst Monsieur Didreville one of the King's Equerries who was near the Dauphin, seized him by the shoulders. The King having put his hand to the spot where he felt the stroke, which was between the fourth and the fifth rib, found when he took it away that it was,

* Nouvelle Salle des Gardes.

full of blood. "I am wounded," said he, "and it is that man who gave me the stroke;" but seeing that he was already arrested, he added, "take care of him, and do not kill him." The time between his first receiving the wound, and the arresting of the wretch, who gave it, did not exceed six seconds; short as this space was, the ruffian might have taken advantage of it, to have made his escape between the crouds of horses and carriages; but whether it was indifference for life, or whether he was staggered by the horror of the crime he had committed, he did not attempt to get away.

As soon as it was known that the King was wounded, the assassin was given into the custody of the Body Guards, and afterwards into the hands of the Grand Provost; who placed him under the immediate guard of forty men of the Regiment of Guards. Notwithstanding the King lost a great deal of blood, yet he was still able to ascend the staircase, without help. As he was expected to sleep at Trianon, there was not either

linen for himself, sheets for his bed, nor Valet-de-Chambre, to wait on him, at Versailles, nor was even his body surgeon, Monsieur de la Martinière, to be found; for he had already left Versailles, to return to Trianon, when the accident happened. The King was placed on mattresses, without sheets, and was undressed by those around him. Monsieur Hevin, surgeon to her Royal Highness the Dauphiness, was called in, to dress the wound of the King; who, at that moment, was labouring under want of breath; to relieve which, he was bled. Monsieur de la Martinière having, by this time arrived, probed the wound, and in probing it, the probe entered quite to the rib; Monsieur de la Martinière informed the King, that the wound had not penetrated the intestines, but had taken an upward direction; and, although four inches in length, had done no material injury; this report afterwards was fully verified. The fortunate circumstances attending this melancholy event, were, that the King had on his winter cloathing, which, of course, was thicker and offered more resistance to the stroke; exclusive

of which, it was found that his shirt happened, by chance, to be folded in five or six plaits, on the very spot where the blow had been given. The villain, who might have held his knife with his fingers closed beneath the handle, and who, by this means, would have plunged it into the King's entrails, luckily held it with his fingers closed *above* the handle, by which means the blow naturally took an upward direction.

The King was bled a second time, in the course of the night, which was a very restless one; for the King being accustomed to sleep on his right side, and it being in that he had been wounded, he was obliged to turn on his left; he nevertheless had some sleep. The weapon, which the miserable assassin had made use of, was a knife, having on one side a common blade, and on the other, a kind of short stiletto, narrower than the blade of the knife. Fortunately he preferred this stiletto to the other blade, which rendered the wound much less deep and dangerous.

On this melancholy occasion, and under these distressing circumstances, the King displayed a great deal of firmness; tranquillity; and religion. The Queen, who imagined he was gone to Trianon, was, at first, only informed that he was taken ill. She hurried instantly to him, and it was the King, himself, who was the first that said, to her, “Madam, the King is assassinated.” The Queen not knowing the meaning of this, and ignorant of what had passed, could at first, make him no answer; but the King repeated it to her; and the grief and consternation of that virtuous Princess may readily be imagined.

His Royal Highness the Dauphin confirmed this melancholy information to the Queen; and the King desired a Priest might be sent for. The Abbé de Raigecourt, one of his almoners, being on the spot, was called in, and the King demanded the Holy Oils. The Abbé de Raigecourt brought them into the closet adjoining the council room. But the King not being in a state to confess him-

self, the Abbé delivered an exhortation to him appropriate to his situation.

The Père Desmarets, Confessor to the King, was at Paris; and, until his arrival, Madame proposed to send for the Abbé Soladini, Almoner of the Grand Commune; a man highly esteemed and of excellent character.

This Abbé, being arrived; was three quarters of an hour, alone, with the King, behind his curtains; he passed the greatest part of the night in the room; during which, the King called for him several times. The Père Desmarets arriving during the night, was also a long time with the King.

The assassin remained, for several hours, in the Hall of the Guards; and, on being transferred to jail, he was several times interrogated, and examined by the Grand Provost. He appeared firm and resolute, without the smallest fear of death. What is hitherto known, or chose to be made known, announce

only a spirit of fanaticism ; for Messieurs Maboul and de Villeneuve have been *expressly chosen* to examine him as judges. The King declared that he pardoned him with all his heart ; that he would not interfere in the business, but that he made over all his authority to the Dauphin ; who would hold those councils that might be judged necessary, and would vote in them, and that he declared him *his Lieutenant*. (It is these terms ; these expressions ; and this confidence in a Prince, so jealous of his authority, which proves how far he was from given credit to the horrible tales which were propagated on this occasion.) His Royal Highness the Dauphin has assisted, for some time past, it is true, at the Council Board ; but has never given any vote. There have been several Councils held on the present affair, in which he gives his opinion with a good deal of prudence, on all the points connected with it : but when other topics were attempted to be introduced, he observed that he could not decide on them, as his powers only extended to what related to the assassination. In Council, it is always

the King who decides, or who is supposed to decide, although he generally gives way to the plurality of voices; as the late King always did.

His Royal Highness the Dauphin, as Representative of the King, has the power of deciding on every thing relative to the present business; but, on no account will he take on himself to extend that power beyond it. As President of the Council, he collects the different opinions; he gives his own; but defers coming to a final decision, until he has the King's orders; whereas he decides forthwith, in the unfortunate business that now occupies all our attention.

He came to the bedside of his Majesty, this morning, and most affectionately enquired after him, and if he suffered much pain. The King answered him, "I should suffer a great deal more, my son, if a similar accident had happened to you."

Which affords an additional proof of the

King's real sentiments of the filial affection of the Dauphin.

The City of Paris sends every day, three or four times, to inquire after the King, and the Duke de Gesvres sends an account of his health, four times a day, to Monsieur le Provost of the Merchants.

The day that the King was wounded, as soon as it was known, in the City, and that Monsieur de Gesvres was going to set off to Versailles, an immense concourse and crowd of people assembled in the court of his hotel, and at the gate, to inquire after the King; and, notwithstanding the rigour of the season, remained there until five in the morning, to wait the arrival of the second courier. M. de Gesvres had a fire made for them in the court-yard, and in the street. The play-houses and places of public amusement were just shut, when the news of the accident arrived, but since Twelfth-day (the *Jour des Roes*) there has been no theatrical representations. M. le Duc de Gesvres, and M. le Prévôt of the Mer-

chants both affirm, that the greatest consternation prevailed in Paris, and continued for a considerable time afterwards.

My Lord Arch Bishop has just ordered the *prières de quarante heures*; and *neuvaines*,* are made to St. Geneviève, where the crowd of people is prodigious, and it is not without difficulty, that the Corporation, who go there every day, can get admission. The churches are filled; the love, and the anxiety of the people is as great as in 1744; at the time of the King's illness. An unequivocal proof of these sentiments is, that, although it is always the custom at the suppers on Twelfth Night, when the slices of cake are drawn for, to cry aloud, "The King drinks," yet there was not a single tavern in all Paris, in which these cries of merriment were heard. It is from the Prévôt of the Merchants that I have this information. Even in private families, these parties were all put off, and the eating houses which are accustomed to sell a turkey to every shop-keeper on that day, were astonished to find

* Nine days devotions.

their stock remain upon their hands. The Clerk of the City, having arrived here for the purpose of expressing to the King, the joy of the City of Paris on his recovery, M. Le Duc de Gesvres introduced him to the King; at the same time the head secretary (Greffier*) of the Parliament of Rouen arrived, sent to express to his Majesty, the alarm they had undergone at his accident, and to assure him of the respect and attachment of that Body Corporate. Monsieur de Richelieu, had already informed the King two or three times, that the Deputy from Rouen was waiting for admission to his presence, and Monsieur de Gesvres having also mentioned to his Majesty that the Deputy from Paris was likewise in attendance, the King gave permission for them both to be introduced. They were admitted to the inside of the balustrade,† the secretary (Greffier) from Rouen, made a very long harangue which the King did not interrupt, but placing himself in a sitting pos-

* Greffier de la Ville.

† The bed of the King of France was placed behind a balustrade.

ture, when the Deputy had finished, he replied, "I am very well; and do you inform my Parliament that the best thing they can do, is to give me proofs of their obedience." Immediately afterwards, the Deputy* of the City of Paris came forward, and the King told him in the presence of the Deputy from Rouen. "Tell my good City of Paris, that I am greatly pleased, both with its zeal and affection for my person, and convey to it the assurances of my protection and my friendship." It must be remembered that, at this time, the Parliaments were nearly in a state of disobedience and revolt. The conduct of the States of Brittany, on this occasion, does them the highest honour. There had been great opposition made to the registering of the second twentieth†; and although it was agreed upon that the province should give a certain sum in lieu of those new taxes, yet they had refused to make this sum good, because they were resolved not to pay these taxes in any shape. The news of the King's wound, has given a total change to the public mind

* The Greffier, or Register of the Parliament.

† "Seconde Vingtième."

in Brittany. The States have written to Monsieur de St. Florentin, " that there would be no longer any opposition on their part to the payment ; that they were ready to shew their obedience to the King, in any thing he might require from them, and wished for nothing more ardently than to give him proofs of their fidelity, their attachment and respect, in sacrificing their properties and even their lives for his service." They send four deputies, who are expected to arrive to morrow; this happy change does honour to the nobility of Brittany, of whom, the greatest part of the States are composed.

At the same time it must be allowed, that Monsieur le duc d'Aiguillon, and the Bishop of Rennes who are equally zealous, have turned the existing circumstances, and the effect they have produced on the public mind, to the best possible account. Every one gives Monsieur d'Aiguillon credit, for having conducted himself, since his arrival in Brittany, with the most unremitting attention, and with all the abilities and capacity possible, as well in those matters which concern the

military department, as in those which relate to the interior regulations of the province; the easy way in which he gets through his business; the time he devotes to it, and his polite address; have given him a claim to the esteem and friendship of all Brittany. (I write this on Sunday the 9th January 1757).

His Royal Highness the Dauphin this day gave a proof of his goodness, that will be very grateful to the feelings of the Bretons. Since he has adopted the practice of dining in public, there is always an immense crowd of spectators at his dinners; in the midst of this crowd, he perceived the Marquis of Poulpri, a man of quality in Brittany, whom he had some slight knowledge of, but to whom perhaps he had never before spoken, and addressing himself to him, asked him "If there was any thing new from Brittany?" Monsieur de Poulpri having replied that His Highness probably must have been informed of the Deputation. "It is on that topic I wish to speak to you," said the Dauphin, "and to express to you the great pleasure it has given me, to hear of the noble conduct of the states which I shall never lose

the remembrance of, and I beg you to let them know what I say, that I shall never forget it."

The first President, and all the *Presidents a Mortier*,* came this day to make their inquiries after the King. There have been two or three Counsellors of the Grand Chambre, of the number of those who had given in their resignation, that have requested to be included, by a special commission in the number of Judges appointed to enquire into the assassination. There is little probability that their offer will be accepted, the King being still very much displeased at their disobedience. There are already twenty five Judges belonging to the Grand Chambre; that is to say, ten Presidents, twelve Councillors, and three honorary Members, from which number, if four of the Clergy are set aside, (who cannot take part in any criminal trial, even where the King is concerned; on account of its being contrary to the canons of the church, for them to pass

* So called from the shape of their caps.

sentence on criminals), there still remains twenty-one, which is more than a sufficient number for the purpose.

It is but too true, that this wretched assassin, at the time he was in the guard room of the Regiment of Guards, said, "Look to the safety of H. R. H. the Dauphin." These words were heard by every one who was present. M. d'Armentieres, who happened to be there at the time, told me he heard them; and it is said, that he added, "if you take any interest in his preservation;" but I am not quite so certain of these last words.

It was in this guard room that they held the soles of his feet to the fire, in the hopes of extorting a confession from him; and to prevent him from moving his legs, they held them forcibly with the tongs; which being red hot at the time, occasioned two very large wounds, which, had he lived, would have rendered him lame for life. He has had a violent fever, and fears have been entertained of his recovery. The persons who were present at this

horrible attack on the King, have all been summoned as witnesses on his trial. The physicians and surgeons have also been summoned, as to the state of the wound, and all the depositions have been taken down in writing, as being of the first importance. The prisoner is now ascertained, to be in a state that leaves no immediate fear for his life. He is in a bed, with irons on his hands only; for it is impossible to put them on his legs, on account of his wounds. The sheets, in which he lies, are sewed together; yet, notwithstanding this precaution, he threw himself out of the bed, to-day, and hurt himself very much. He has a guard constantly over him, in his room; and the exterior of the prison is guarded by thirty soldiers from the French Guards, and twenty from the Swiss. M. le Duc de Biron is personally responsible for his escape, or for his being rescued. He went to see him yesterday; the officer commanding this guard, has the liberty of going into the room, whenever he thinks proper, to satisfy himself that the prisoner is safe. This villain is a native of the

Province of Artois. He was first known by the name of Damiens, and his first outset, was in the situation of a servant in the Jesuits College; he recollects several persons who were then scholars there; he has since that time, been in the service of fourteen or fifteen masters, &c.; and sometimes took the name of Le Febvre; sometimes that of Flamand; under which last-mentioned name, he served in the family of Madame de Sainte Reuse. Madame de Sainte Reuse was very well satisfied with him, as he was attentive, and wrote a very fine hand.

M. de Marigny however, who was a frequent visitor in the family, was struck with the horrid physiognomy of this man, and advised Madame de St. Reuse to send him away; which she did. Some time after, at the door of the Opera House, this wretch came and begged charity at the carriage door, in a most insolent manner. She drew up the glass; but the scoundrel broke it and another glass also, by flinging stones at them; and even since that time, when M. de Marigny went

to Madame de St. Reuse's, he threw stones at the windows, and behaved in such a manner, that a complaint was made to Monsieur Berryer, the Lieutenant of Police, who sent a guard there, to prevent his outrages ; for a length of time, no more was heard of this man ; but, during the last journey of the Court to Fontainebleau, M. de Marigny received a letter from him, wherein he informed him, " that he was dying for want, and that from despair, he had thrown himself into the sea ; but had been taken out." At the time of his arrest however, there were found on him four or five-and-twenty louis, in gold, and five or six in silver. He was asked " Where he got this money from ?" and his answer was, " That he had sold an estate, which belonged to him, in his province, and that he received for it seven or eight hundred livres." Exclusive of the alarming expression he used respecting the Dauphin, it has been remarked, that in his answers, he generally makes use of the term "*We*," and at the first moment of his being seized, when he was asked, if he

had any accomplices? he said, "If I have any, they are not here."

I have mentioned the knife, with which he wounded the King, which appears a very bad piece of workmanship, and the large blade has neither point nor edge; indeed it would be difficult to cut with it. I have this information from one who has both seen and examined it. It was doubted at first, if the species of penknife, which was at the other end of the handle, was really the weapon he made use of for the commission of his crime; and so certain were those who searched him, that he had another offensive weapon, that they examined every part about his person to find it. This pen-knife, which was lost, when taken out of his pocket, and had no mark of blood on its blade, certainly gave room to doubt; yet, nevertheless no other weapon was found on him and when it was compared with the hole in the King's shirt it was proved to be the same he made use of.

The play scenes at Paris opened

(10th of January) and the King has resumed his usual amusements.

The Deputies from the States of Brittany having arrived this morning, the King received them, (the curtains at the bed's feet being withdrawn) presented by M. le Duc de Penthièvre, and M. de Saint Florentin. M. the Bishop of Quimper (Annibal de Cuillè) was the spokesman; his speech was very nervous. The Deputation spoke from the outside of the balustrade of the King's Bed.

“ I had no need of this new proof, to be certain of the affection of my subjects of the Province of Brittany,” said the King, “ you may assure them that the sentiments they have manifested are inscribed, on my heart.”

The Breton Deputies waited yesterday, (the 10th) on the Queen. She told them “ She had learned, with the greatest satisfaction, the conduct of the States of Brittany; and that she felt grateful to them, from the bottom

of her heart." She shed tears in making this reply. Nor did Madame express, with less sensibility, her feelings on what the States had done. She said yesterday, "she wished she was a Bretonne." The King, wishing to bestow a particular mark of attention to the Bretons, installed, yesterday, (in his dressing gown,) M. de Morand, a Knight of St. Louis. This M. de Morand was deputed on the part of the nobility;* he is Colonel of the Queen's Regiment of Dragoons.

The letters patent for the removal of this wretched assassin, will be expedited to-morrow, to the Grand-Chambre; they would have been sent before, but it was considered most advisable to let the trial go on without interfering with the investigations that still continue to be made into this dreadful attempt. Any crime committed within the precincts of the Court, comes under the jurisdiction of the Prorost.

The Grand Prévôt has the right of trying the criminal. The Court of the Prorost is a

* Délégué de la noblesse

tribunal, composed of a great number of officers; and Letters Patent are necessary, to authorise the taking the prisoner from the tribunal that has the natural right of trying him, and sending him before the Grand Chambre. The rule in these cases is, that the prisoner is delivered to the jail of the Conciergerie, but this man, as guilty of high treason, (*Leze Majesté*) will be placed in the Tower of Montgomery, which was, on a similar occasion, the prison of the wretched Ravillac. He will be constantly under the eye of two Serjeants of the Guards, who will never leave him, but who will even take their meals in his room. Orders have also been given, that he shall have the same food as they have, to prevent a possibility of his being poisoned. There are other plans also talked of for the meals of the Serjeants and Soldiers of the Guards, under whose custody this wretch is to be placed.

A trial of this kind in the Grand Chambre, is always held under the direction of four persons: the First President; a President a

Mortier; the Reporter; and another Counsellor, who is called the *Evangeliste*, whose business it is, to examine, with the most scrupulous exactness, all the different documents relative to the trial. The Counsellors, who are Ecclesiastics, may assist at a criminal trial *before* conviction; but, when sentence of death is to be pronounced, they must withdraw. The sittings being in the Grand Chambre, not only the Presidents and honorary Counsellors may attend; but also four Masters of Requests; this number must not be exceeded; for if a fifth should come in, the junior one must withdraw.

Exclusive of the investigations and the informations which have already been procured by the Provost's Court,* M. le Prince de Croy, (whose zeal for whatever regards the person, or the service of the King is without bounds,) has been to Arras, where he has spared no pains in collecting every information, and from whence he has sent a very particular and circumstantial account of every thing respecting this assassin.

This scoundrel was brought up at a College, at Bethune: he has been in thirty or forty different situations; discarded by all; amongst other masters he was in the service of a rich merchant, of the name of Mitchell, now at St. Petersburg, from whom he stole two hundred Louis. He was taken, and one hundred and sixty Louis were found upon him; his master seeing no chance of recovering the rest, and not wishing to hang him, turned him away. The wretch enlisted three times, and each time deserted from his Corps. He has a wife, and a daughter, who have been brought to Paris.

At the Sitzings of the 12th, at the opening of which, Monsieur de Duras was introduced, as Duke and Peer of France, there were only about sixty Judges; twenty of whom were Princes of the Blood; that is to say, the whole of the Princes of the Blood, were present except the Comte de Charolois, who being subject to swimmings in the head, cannot remain for any length of time in a close room. I do not include the *legitimated* Princes, for

although they enjoy the honours of Princes of the Blood, yet in Parliament they have not the distinction of crossing the floor,* for which reason they do not attend.

There were on the same day twenty-Peers of France present, nineteen only of whom remained, Monsieur le Marechal de Richelieu, being obliged to give his deposition as a witness of the assassination, withdrew after the introduction of the Duc of Duras; out of respect to the law, which does not permit a man to be both witness, and judge. There were twelve Presidents a Mortier, comprizing two honorary ones; three Masters of Requests; and the rest were Counsellors of Honour, Presidents, and honorary Counsellors of Enquiry and Requests, or Counsellors of the Grand Chambre. Immediately after the reception was over, without quitting the place, the sittings continued† in the seats below, the Counsellors

* "*Coureur le parquet*," which is, they were obliged to go round to the seats, whilst the Princes of the Blood crossed directly to theirs.

† Dans les loges bas.

and the Honoraries, were in the seats above,* but only on the left side of the Hall, the entrance of which is to the right of the seat of the King. The places to the left, could not be occupied, because there is a sort of covering above the place of the President a Mortier in the seats below; which would entirely hide those who should be placed in that part which is to the left of the King's seat. The proceedings commenced; the Reporter of the trial is Monsieur Severe; the second Reporter is Monsieur Pasquier, who fills the office stiled Evangelist; consultations were held on the steps to be taken to procure information from the father, the brother and the sister in law, the sister, and the brother in law, the wife and the daughter of the villain Damiens. All these relatives had been arrested, and taken to the Bastile, but it was necessary to pass a decree to that purpose, before they could be judicially interrogated.

Monsieur Severe had scarcely began speaking when the Prince de Conti proposed, that

* Dan les seiges hants.

before any thing else was done, the proceedings of the *Précôté* of Versailles should be read; these proceedings were very voluminous and well drawn up; and at the instance of the Prince de Conti, they were read by Monsieur Pasquier, assisted by Monsieur Titon. The depositions of all the witnesses were also read; the letter dictated by the wretch to Monsieur Blot, Exempt of the *Précôté* and addressed to the King; and the list of seven names since mentioned by him to the said Blot; both these papers signed by Damiens, as well as all the different interrogatories without exception, were read; these readings occupied a space of nearly four hours; including the proceedings at Paris, since the confinement of Damiens in the Tower of Montgomery. Amongst the latter, is an interrogatory which received the highest commendation, being drawn up with the greatest skill and perspicuity. These informations having been read, Monsieur Severe made his report of the reasons that existed for issuing decrees of accusation against the relations of Damiens; these reasons being gone into, seven decrees were pronounced against them. The

next subject was a formal accusation against a lawyer, for language too horrible to repeat, made use of by him at a dinner where ten or twelve other persons were assembled; language however, which evidently proceeded from a weak and ill-informed man, infuriated with passion. This business was very warmly debated; and was put to the vote; the plurality of voices were against pronouncing a decree of arrest against him; and the informations on this score were ordered to be continued. Had the decree passed for arresting him, it certainly would have been a just one, for too many examples cannot be made of persons holding language of this sort, which if not taken notice of, there would be no end to, and the language held by this lawyer, certainly merited severe punishment. The next subject, was the statement which the Prince de Croy had sent to the Court, containing all the information and discoveries which he had been able to make at Arras, (where he went on purpose;) and in all the province of Artois, relative to the conduct of this ruffian during the time he resided there, immediately before his coming to Versailles: it was then four o'clock in the afternoon;

and the deliberation on this head was deferred to the next sitting, which was fixed for Saturday the 10th.

The Peers attended this sitting, without either summons, invitation, or notice being given to them. They had been requested to attend by Monsieur le Duc de Duras, on that day Saturday 12th, and that same day (Saturday) at the close of the Sittings, Monsieur le Duc d'Orleans, was asked what hour would be convenient for him to attend at the Palace, on the following Saturday (the 10th). He fixed the hour for eight o'clock in the morning, and all the Peers unanimously agreed punctually to attend.

Monsieur le Prince de Conti was extremely pressing that the causes which led to this assassination, should be searched into, and that every possible means should be used to discover the accomplices of Damiens.

This Prince was particularly desirous, that the strictest perquisitions should be made

on Flanders, that the business might be traced to its source; for he observed that it would be highly improper, to suffer France to remain in ignorance of the motives which led to an attempt of this nature; he animadverted on the want of information, in their proceedings, as to what had been the conduct of the criminal in Flanders, and the necessity of making the most minute enquiries into every thing respecting him; adding, that it was impossible that this wretch should not have formed his infamous project before that period of time, between the 31st of December, to the 5th of January; that it was proved he had said whilst in this province, “that if he went to Paris, and lost his life there, the first personage in the world would perish also;” and that it was impossible in an affair of this consequence, that the accomplices should have given their confidence to this man, in the small space of five days. The Prince of Conti concluded by saying, “Remember that it would be a bitter and severe reflection on the judges, if the criminal either during his tortures, or in dying, should reproach them with their want of zeal and activity, by pointing

out accomplices in that country, where alone they can reasonably be expected to be found : as to myself, I should never get the better of the anguish of mind I should be plunged in, if another attempt of this sort should be made from my not having thoroughly investigated the existing and unknown motives, which led to the present."

Twenty-one votes were for making further investigations in Flanders, whilst forty-five were against it, and for going on directly with the trial ; as an additional reason for which, it was observed that the health of the wretch was declining, and that it was probable he would be dead before the investigation would be completed.

The Prince de Conti, after his motion was lost, observed, that his attachment to the person of the King, and to the tranquillity of the state, was his only motive for having proposed it ; he said, " that it was with great regret he found that it was not adopted, but that he persisted, notwithstanding the plurality of

voices were against him, believing his opinion the only one adapted to the occasion, and that it was unfortunate both for the Kingdom and the Monarch, that it had not been adopted.

In the second sitting which was held the day before yesterday (the 19th February), it was proposed that the informations, taken on the very extraordinary discourse of the little descouffiet, a female boarder at the Convent of St. Joseph, should be read. The Prince de Conti again opposed this motion, and moved that the memorial of Monsieur de Croy, (of which I before spoke) should be first read ; it was objected, not only at this time, but during the course of the sitting, that this memorial alluded to, was not only extremely long, but could not be looked on as constituting a part of the trial, being without any judicial form ; that it was the mere effect of the zeal and attachment of Monsieur le Prince de Croy for the person of the King, but that in a Court of Justice, no attention could be paid to it ; that it was in four different parts, which had been sent one after the other by Monsieur de Croy,

in proportion as he made any discoveries, but that those four parts not being immediately connected one with the other, required revising before they could be made use of; that the revision had been made, by a faithful extract, under the inspection of Monsieur Pasquier; that the reading of this extract would be sufficient, in as much as the facts contained in this memorial, could throw no new, or interesting light on the causes, which led to this assassination, since the villain who perpetrated it, had been during all that time occupied in hiding himself, to avoid the search of the Police and to preserve himself from being taken up for the theft, he had committed on Monsieur Michel, a rich merchant, whose servant he had been. This Monsieur Michel arrived here lately from Petersburg; and must be a very strong and hardy man, as he performed the journey in eighteen days, in sledges and common post carriages, without even a single servant.

Monsieur Pasquier, in addition to these reasons, asserted, " that he had made his ex-

tract from the original memorial of M. de Croy ; but that this original was no longer in his hands ; that he had only a copy, which was not certified to be a true one." But the Prince de Conti still persisting in its being read, it was put to the vote. Had the reading of it, been decided on at first ; it would, perhaps, have taken little more than three hours to go through it ; and nearly two hours had been spent, in deliberating whether it should be read or not. Several of the Judges made long speeches ; and there was a variety of opinions as to the time of reading it ; on the necessity, or inutility of having it read ; on the preference of the extract to the original ; on the necessity of making it, (by the usual forms,) an official document, before it could be read. There were several divisions on this memorial and, at last, it was determined to defer the discussion of this point, till after the reading the principal papers of the proceedings. The next point entered on, was the informations and interrogations in the business of the Convent of St. Joseph ; a very singular affair, and which seemed to require the issu-

ing a warrant for the apprehension of the boarder d'Escofflet, who has been removed from St. Joseph, and placed in a Convent at St. Germain, there not being a Convent in Paris that would receive her. Notwithstanding the strong appearances against her, only an order for her examination was resolved on; after which, mention was made of a conversation heard *eleven years since*, by a man who is now actually in Paris, aged eighty-five years; the particular expressions made use of in which, were *dreadful*; but have no immediate relation to the present business. In a political point of view, it is possible some information might be drawn from it, but nothing of any utility, in the matter now before the Court. Monsieur Severe, and Monsieur Pasquier, gave in their report, of the interrogatories of those, who were ordered to be examined, in the preceding Sitting. The business in which the lawyer before-mentioned was implicated, and on which the Procureur General (Attorney General) had given his opinion, was also discussed; the extreme licentiousness of the language made use of seemed to require a decree for taking the

author into custody; nevertheless it was only decided to continue a further enquiry into the subject. Two interrogatories of the assassin were also read; one, that had taken place several days before, and of which mention has already been made, as containing nothing interesting, the criminal having always replied, "that he would not give any answer;" and which was only read, to show the questions that had been put to him. The second interrogatory had taken place the evening before (the 18th of this month); the questions put to him turned principally on the memorial of M. de Cr y; he answered several of them. The examination lasted for seven hours. The reading of this memorial of M. de Croy, was again proposed; it was then three o'clock in the afternoon, and the Sitting had continued from eight in the morning; but was broke up from the extreme coldness of the weather; as on the preceding Sitting, it was agreed to adjourn to the Friday following; that, if necessary, the Sittings might be continued on the Saturday.

The Sittings of the Parliament commenced this day, at a quarter past eight, and the further investigation of the trial was proceeded on. It had been resolved in the last sittings, to go on with the information, in the business of St. Joseph, and a report was this day given in, of what had been done in consequence: it was therefore necessary to refer to what had already been related of this matter. The more it was looked into, *the more singular it appeared*; and there remains no doubt of the little d'Escoufflet having spoken on Wednesday the 5th, (the day of the assassination,) these words "*The King is, or will be assassinated*;" which were treated as falsehoods, or the idle prattle of a child, as well by herself, in her examination, as by others. But this speech, is nevertheless worthy of attention, and to get more completely into the truth of the business, and, if possible, to get at a knowledge of what gave occasion to it, it was resolved that this little girl should be arrested. This measure being put in force, on the requisition of the Attorney General, the arrest of the two sisters of d'Escoufflet, and

of another boarder at St. Josephs, a great intimate of this little girl's, was discussed; there was a diversity of opinions, but that of M. Pelletier de Rosambo was adopted; which was, to suspend all further proceedings against these different persons, until it should be seen, by the examination of the little d'Escoufflet, if there really were grounds for issuing an arrest against them. After this point was settled, a report was made of several requisitions of the Attorney General, founded on different informations communicated to him by memorials, letters, and in various ways, tending to prove conversations which afforded ground for suspecting the existence of a conspiracy; these requisitions occasioned very long debates; some of them appearing worthy of attention, and others, having no connection with the trial. One of the last points, on which there was a long conversation, without a regular debate, was an expression, which was made use of by the Abbé de la Chapelle, a man of eighty-five years of age; and of which, Monsieur Zalusky, Grand Referendary of Poland, had some knowledge; an expression, not having

any immediate reference to the assassination; but which, nevertheless, gave cause for just suspicion; the difficulty seemed to be the settling the steps necessary to be taken in this affair. M. le Prince de Conti said, " he was particularly acquainted with the Grand Referendary; because his Grandfather, or Grand Uncle had been very much attached, and interested himself very greatly in the business of his ancestor, the Prince of Conti, at the time of his election as King of Poland; that it would be a most painful circumstance to M. Zalusky, to receive a summons to give testimony as to what he knew of this matter. Other expedients were then thought of; and the Prince de Conti even offered, that the omitting to mention the Grand Referendary, should have the sanction of his name.

There is little probability, that this investigation will throw any material light on this business; but as, in an affair of this magnitude, nothing should be neglected, that may lead to a discovery of the accomplices, it will,

of course be proceeded with, and it was in conformity with this principle, on which the members of the Court were unanimous, that other measures have also been proposed, which although extra-judicial, yet still merit attention. One of the Counsellors also, gave in a report, that two persons whom he was unacquainted with, but who appeared to him respectable people, had informed him, that they knew two individuals in Normandy, who were acquainted with the motives that led to this assassination, and also added, that they had given him the names of the persons. This information was too vague, and uncertain to be acted upon; but it was decreed that all those who should learn any tidings of the parties, or causes, concerning this assassination, should communicate to the Attorney General whatever information they might receive whether by letter or otherwise, that he might make such use of them, as in his prudence and wisdom he might judge necessary; that all irrelevant informations should be omitted, as they would only serve to retard the final judgment of the trial; risque losing the life of the criminal,

who is in a state of rapid decay, and from whom by the force of torture, it is hoped much information may yet be procured; exclusive of which, all these delays give birth to a variety of discussions, conversations, and idle falsehoods which were already but too numerous, and it is important to put a stop to and to efface if possible, even the very idea and recollection of so horrible an attempt on the life of the Sovereign. The Sitting has been adjourned to next Wednesday, the 9th of this month.

The Sitzings commenced this day at a little past eight o'clock; Monsieur le Duc d'Aiguillon who is lately arrived from Brittany was present; the first affair which occupied the Court, was that of Chapelle, the Priest of eighty-five years of age, who it was asserted had revealed to the Grand Referendary of Poland, Monsieur Zalusky, a plot against the life of the King, it was through a Sadler at Paris, that the information was received, which enabled the matter to be traced to its source. The Referendary who seems to be very intimate with the Prince de Conti, had no ob-

jection, that the conversation which the Abbé Chapelle had related to him, should be mentioned, but he would not suffer his name to be brought forward in the business. On a thorough investigation it appeared, that it was a mere repetition of a conversation, which the said Abbé Chapelle pretends he heard eleven years ago, a conversation *which would have given birth to disputes with Foreign Powers, without being of the least utility in the present business* ; on which account it was resolved to take no notice of it. The Reporters next gave an account of the interrogatories which had been made in the affair of St. Joseph, in consequence of the decree passed during the last Sittings, the former depositions were obliged to be read over. I have twice spoken of this affair, and I have mentioned that the girl who said while entering the Convent, “The King is, or will be assassinated this evening,” is a boarder in that Convent, of the age of thirteen or fourteen, of the name of d’Escoufflet ; and that it was to another girl of the same age with herself, who was also a boarder in that Convent, and her intimate friend, that

this speech was made in a low tone of voice, begging her not to repeat what she told her, as she should be scolded if she did, her sister having strictly forbid her to say a word about the matter. The material point to establish in this business, is whether this assertion was made on Wednesday the 5th or on Thursday the 6th. This little d'Escofflet has two sisters, one married to the Aide-Major of the Invalids, whose name is Monsieur de la Coudre ; and the other, is a boarder in the Convent of the Petites Cordelières, who goes under her own family name, but who is said to be married, and living separate from her husband. In the course of the examination, it appears that the sister, whom the little d'Escofflet had been visiting, and who so strictly enjoined her to secrecy, is Madame de la Coudre, although she is only mentioned in several of the interrogatories of the little girl, by the name of her sister ; it had been before proposed in the last sittings, that Madame de la Coudre should be taken into custody, but there was a difference of opinion on that score, and it was determined by a majority of votes.

that a summons should be issued for her examination. In this Sitting however, the proofs appeared so strong against her, that a resolution for her being taken into custody, was passed almost unanimously.

It was with reluctance, this measure was resolved on; as Madame de la Coudre is three months gone with child; it was also debated whether the little Geoffrey should not also be taken into custody, upon the grounds, that, from the speech of the little d'Escoufflet, she was acquainted with the attempt against the King, from Wednesday the 5th, at half-past three or half-past four; (as to the variation of the hour that is of little consequence); and that she never spoke of it, till the 12th, when she was examined; there was much difference of opinion on this point, and the resolution for taking her into custody, was only carried by a majority of thirty-one to twenty-seven.

It would appear by this statement, that there were only fifty-eight judges, but it is

to be observed that in counting the votes, the brothers in law, the father, and the son, are only reckoned as one vote, when they vote on the same side; for instance; the first President and Monsieur de Maupou, his son, are counted but as one vote; Monsieur le Duc d'Orleans, Monsieur le Prince de Conti, and Monsieur le Comte de la Marche, are counted but as one vote; Monsieur le Prince de Conti, and Monsieur le Prince de Soubise his father in law, but as one vote; and in the same manner Monsieur le Duc d'Uze, and Monsieur le Duc d'Antin but one. The length of these debates, and the excessive coldness of the weather, obliged the Sittings to adjourn for the purpose of the Members warming themselves; this interruption lasted about half an hour. The next business brought before the Court, was of a most complicated and tedious nature relating to the examination of a russian, named Fricard, a soldier in the guards, arrested at Montdidier, and convicted of being an assassin. This man having been tried for his crime, was transferred from the prisons of Montdauher, into those of the Conciergerie.

and this scoundrel has informed against several persons, amongst whom it appears there is one, whom he represents as the Captain of a band of five ; all of whom, were concerned in the plan of assassinating the King. Mention was made of a letter written by one of these five men, named Andouet, which letter has not been produced ; but this wretch Fricard pretends that it contains strong proofs. It has been sought for, but is not found ; nevertheless, as it appears by the depositions, that there actually was a dagger purchased, (and as in a case of this kind, it is necessary to take every precaution ; even those which, in other cases, would appear useless,) it was resolved, that these five persons should be taken into custody. After such long debates, the Sitting might have been expected to have broken up, particularly as it had been agreed to meet again on Friday, to hear an account of the interrogatory and examination of Madame de la Coudre, and any other information which in the interval, might come to the knowledge of the Attorney General, and from which, if necessary, he might form a requisition. But the Prince de Conti, thought proper to bring

forward a motion, which gave rise to a very long debate ; for anxious to take advantage of the most trifling circumstance that could throw any light upon the causes of this assassination, he observed, That the Serjeants of the French Guards, under whose care the prisoners are placed, and of whom four out of twelve, are always four and twenty hours together, constantly in his room ; and who of course must hear all his conversation, are consequently capable of giving some information about his accomplices, if ever he shewed a disposition to speak of them. This motion was certainly not ill judged ; for the Duke de Biron had said, in a former Sitting, that an exact account was kept of every thing that this villain said ; but his conversation was a mixture of impiety and obscenity. The Prince de Conti moved at the same time, that the different masters whom the assassin had lived with, should all be examined ; beginning with those, whom he had lived with, a long time previous to the commission of his crime.

It was contrary to the established forms of the Court, to deliberate on these two motions ; as, according to the etiquette, the Court can only deliberate on a requisition by the Attorney General ; therefore it was necessary, to begin by examining, if they should be deliberated on ; and then, ordering the necessary forms to be gone through, for that purpose. In that case, as before remarked, the first persons who give their votes, are the Presidents ; beginning with the eldest ; next the Dean ; the Counsellors, who are upon the Peers' Bench ; and then the others ; with the Honorary Counsellors, according as they are seated ; after them, the Peers ; beginning by the last, and going on to the first ; finishing with the Princes of the Blood. It was, almost unanimously, determined that neither of these propositions could be adopted ; and that as to the Serjeants, Monsieur le Duc de Biron, was bound in duty to keep minutes of the conversation of this wretch, and to communicate them to the Attorney General ; that a selection might be made of those that may be of any use, from those which were impious ; scandalous ;

obscure; or altogether indifferent. As to the examination of the masters he had lived with, it was left to the judgment of the Attorney General to act as he should think proper, as to any information he thought he might procure from them.

The Sitting concluded with a motion, made by the Duc de la Force, that a report should be made in the next Sitting, of the three letters above alluded to, and which appeared likely to throw great light on this horrible assassination.

The point next discussed was, whether Damiens should be permitted to have a Confessor. According to the forms of law, criminals are not allowed Confessors *till after sentence*; formerly they had no Confessor; and it was not till in 1397, that a Monk, who had unjustly accused the Duke of Orleans of having bewitched his brother, King Charles the VIth, being condemned to death for that offence, was permitted to confess, before his execution, and this was the first instance of

criminals, condemned to die, having Confessors allowed them; which before, was never customary in France.

The fear of the criminal's receiving information, or being improperly tutored by indiscreet confessors, was the reason of no confessors being allowed to approach the prisoner, till after sentence was passed. It is customary in Paris that four Doctors of the Sorbonne, should perform this sad office. However, in the hopes that the Curate of Saint Paul's, a prudent and experienced man, and who has the entire full confidence of Government, may give salutary council, not only as to what regards his salvation, but also to bring him to a confession of the accomplices of his crime, it was resolved to appoint him Confessor to Damiens. These were the motives alledged to the Public for his nomination, and an example was quoted for the nomination of a Confessor before sentence, in the person of the ruffian who assassinated a man of the name of An-

drieux; exclusive of which, another precedent was found, in two Doctors of the Sorbonne, who were sent to Ravallac before sentence was passed on him.*

* The refusal of a Confessor to persons under sentence of death, in former times, is, without doubt, a proof of the baseness and profound ignorance of that age. The Sacraments were instituted for the benefit of mankind, but, in those days, such was their ideas of religion, that it was thought, that the granting the Sacraments to Criminals, chained and in a dungeon, was degrading the holy objects of the Liturgy. Criminals, condemned to death, were, therefore, deprived of the Sacraments, set apart by Religion for the dying, and without which they could not be interred; but, in those days, a respect for the Sacraments was, at least, some excuse for the mistaken principle of refusal.

The contempt of the Jacobins for all Religious Institutions, even for that comfort which Religion affords to Man, in his most agonizing moments, at the point of death, and their deadly hatred to their enemies, whom they sent to the scaffold, were the two reasons why the spiritual aid of the Ministers of the Gospel, was denied to those condemned to death. These unfortunate persons were condemned not only to lose their lives, but also to undergo that awful judgment without any species of religious consolation.

The hatred, which is peculiar to revolutionary parties, has degraded the Catholics in England, who perished on the scaffold of the guillotine and the gallows. The priests and monks of England, having condemned Queen Mary of Scotland to death, refused her a Confessor. Mary also refused the Sacraments to herself, on a point of conscience, the Pope having given her permission, and by the executioner's hand to her prison.

The hatred of the opposite party, in the preceding reign, had deprived the Protestants, when led out to die, of the aid of the Ministers of their Religion; such, and so inveterate, is the hatred of Revolutionary Governments towards a vanquished faction, when they have degraded themselves by sanguinary measures.

In France, the hatred of the Jacobins against all Religious Institutions having been methodical and progressive; the *Constituent Jacobins*, in sending some persons, of the Old System, to the scaffold, did not dare to deprive them of the succours of Religion. The Marquis de Farrax was allowed a Confessor.

CHAPTER XIII.

Execution of Damiens. Effects produced by it. Reports that it gave rise to. Two opposite parties, that of the Parliament, and that of the Jesuits, reciprocally accuse each other of this crime.

THIS nomination of a Confessor for Damiens before his condemnation, and, above all, of a Confessor who was a Jansenist; and who was said to be in the confidence of Government, was not without its inconvenience. The Molinists, however shocked they might be at the horrible attempt made, by Damiens, on the sacred person of Louis the XVth, said, "that the sacred office of a Confessor, is independent of all human consideration, and could not be converted into an instrument of temporal police."

The Molinists of the Sorbonne were indignant at the choosing a simple Curate

manded to go up into the Hotel de Ville, and there he declared "That he came there for the purpose of saying that he persisted in his former depositions; that he asked pardon of God for having lived in disobedience to the rules of the Church, and for all the blasphemies he had been guilty of against her, and her decisions; as well as for all the injurious and scandalous abuse he had used towards her Ministers, and above all against the Archbishop of Paris, whose doctrine he respected, as being conformable to that of Jesus Christ."

Being questioned by the first President Monsieur Molé, as to what were his motives for this assassination, he said "That he meant to revenge the honour and the glory of Parliament; and that he thought by this act, to have done a most essential service to the State."

One of the Commissaries spoke to him ^{on} the deposition he had made against the ^{Procureur} ~~Secrétaire~~ de Chambre, or-Intendant, of Monsieur le Marquis de Ferriere, and represented to him the necessity of retracting what he had said; if

his deposition was not founded in truth. "I know," said he, "that I have been guilty of an atrocious sin, in my attempt on the life of the King; I also know that I should be guilty of one equally great, were I to groundlessly accuse an innocent person, on the very eve of appearing before God; I declare that I persist in all my depositions, and I request that I may be allowed to sign the present one."

The Commissary said, "That is not necessary; you see, gentlemen, that this is the language of a man, who does not know what he says."

When led down to the place of execution, and after undergoing the torments of having his flesh torn with red-hot pincers, he again declared to his confessor, "That he persisted in his depositions, and that it would be a horrible sin, if on the very eve of appearing before his God, he were to avow any thing, but what was true."

The Register (Greffier) who was near to

the scaffold, came up close to him and asked him if he had nothing further to declare. "No," said he, in a firm, but hollow and sepulchral tone of voice, "I have nothing further to say, than that I should not now be here, if I had never lived in the service of Counsellors of the Parliament."

This speech was heard by a great number of persons, and is a topic of public conversation in Paris.

The Register (Greffier) retired, without writing any thing, and looking very foolish.

The drawing of his limbs asunder by horses; the tearing his flesh to pieces by pincers, and the pouring of boiling oil, and melted lead into his wounds, being finished; the Confessors retired to the apartments of the gaoler to take some refreshment, and there Monsieur l'Abbé de Marcilly, said to Monsieur le Curé of St. Paul's, "Did you hear, Sir, what the criminal just now said? the curate made no other reply

but by exclaiming ah! and turning away his head.

The party of the Jansenists were indignant at the project of the Jesuits, who were anxious to lay the blame of the attempt made by *Damiens* to the Magistracy, these parties, who attributed with such eagerness and assiduity this crime to each other, were inveterate in their hatred; whilst those who were indifferent to either party, only saw in this business (of which a farrago of unauthentic matter was published in 1 vol. in 12mo, and in 1 vol. 4to.) the outline of a plan, or rather a comedy, the acts of which had been skilfully prepared.

At Court, the two parties laid hold of this crime, to serve as a tool for their ambition, by some it was thought that the Jesuits seeing the absolute sway of the King's Mistress, who was their mortal enemy, and whose word was a law at Versailles, were resolved to put an end to a reign unfavorable to their interest by this assassination. The party by which the Jesuits

were accused, and which was soon after joined by the Count de Stainville, (since Duc of Choiseul,) persuaded, it is said, Louis the XVth, that his son had been the centre of the opposite and Regicide party, who had worked up the mind of Damiens, by the strongest misrepresentations, to lift his hand against his life, and thus it was that the enemies of His Royal Highness the Dauphin, were perpetually irritating, and secretly tormenting, the already terrified imagination of Louis the XVth; and afterwards, they accuse this Monarch, of having tacitly consented to, nay, even given orders for the poisoning of His Royal Highness the Dauphin, to Monsieur le Duc de Choiseul; as also, for the destruction of the Jesuits; of which, both Madame de Pompadour, and the favorite Minister, took such pleasure in being the principal instruments. The conduct of Madame de Pompadour on this occasion, was such, as was naturally suggested to her, by her ambition to retain her power, which a second assassination of Louis the XVth would of course totally destroy.

The Jansenists when they saw themselves accused of having been the authors of this assassination, replied, in these terms, to the party of the Jesuits. "It is us then, you say, that were the promoters of this attempt on the life of the King; if so; we must had in view, the reign of a Monarch less favorable to us than is the *present* King; for it is well known that His Royal Highness the Dauphin is wholly devoted to the Jesuits, who only wait his accession to the Throne, to attempt our total destruction."

These disputes, these reciprocal accusations of the two inveterate opposite parties, clearly shew with what a degree of discord and hatred they were animated, since they accused each other, not only of the assassination of Louis the XVth, but also of the death of His Royal Highness the Dauphin, which they reciprocally attributed to have been caused by each other.

END OF THE FIRST PART.

ANECDOTES
OF THE
COURT OF FRANCE,
DURING THE REIGN OF
MADAME DE POMPADOUR,

SECOND PART.

CHAPTER I.

Effects of the attempt at assassinating Louis the XVth, upon the Person and disposition of that Monarch.

LOUIS the XVth, finding himself in the centre of a Court, where factions were carried to such a length, and seeing that the result of them, had been an act which might have occasioned his death ; was plunged into a state of stupefaction. The natural melancholy of his disposition, degenerated into indolence, and a sort of incapacity for business, or activity ;

he had no longer any feelings, but such as were imparted to him by his favorite, nor any ideas, but such as were dictated to him by his Ministers; and although he did not express it, yet every thing round him appeared dark, and gloomy. He became more dull; more pensive, more silent, and more deceitful than he had ever before been. This was the man frozen with terror; this the King paralyzed to every thing around him, by the blow which had been aimed at his life, whom it was necessary to excite, and to amuse. It is a fact, that he kept up a sort of secret correspondence, which, since the attack upon his life, became his only resource, and the only thing that could rouse him from that general indifference in which he was plunged; this correspondence was kept up by the Abbé, and the Count de Broglie; and by his foreign Envoies. These were men of abilities. The two brothers delivered into the King's hands, with the greatest punctuality, every Sunday, a note containing an account of what was doing amongst the foreign powers. The King pretends to be acquainted with, and

to know what passes every day in the Cabinet, and in the different Offices of every Government in Europe. He goes still further; for he wishes, in future, to be acquainted with every blow that can be aimed at him from abroad; where, as in France, there exists so many causes for the continuation, or the destruction of his system of politics, and consequently his reign; on account of the evident opposition of political opinions, which exists between the reigning Monarch, and the Heir to the Crown.

It is said that the King thinks the simultaneous existence of a *visible* political ministry, and also a *secret* political ministry, necessary to his safety, and that he is never better pleased than when he sees in them a difference of opinions or principles. It is then he thinks he becomes possessed of the opinions of both parties, which he could only get a knowledge of by this means. The Duke de Choiseul is furious; and Madame de Pompadour in an agony, at these *secret* correspondences. As to the King, his insen-

sibility is so great, that if he thought it necessary to sacrifice the two Broglies to his external authority, he would ostensibly sacrifice them, by a pretended disgrace, and continue the same intimacy with them, in private, as before; until the moment should arrive when the Duke de Choiseul should be no longer necessary to him, to carry into execution those plans, which the Duke had put into his head to prepare, combine, and perfect, when he would sacrifice him also.

In every point of view, the situation of the Court is alarming, and some great event must necessarily be the result. It is divided between the party of the Jesuits, under the Dauphin; and the party of the Duke of Choiseul, and of Madame de Pompadour, their mortal enemies. The origin of this enmity, is said to have been occasioned, by the imprudence of Madame de Pompadour.

The same spirit of party is manifest amongst the Clergy. The Parliaments offer the same picture of intestine division.

The Collegiate Bodies, are equally divided; there is no longer that union which characterized the glorious days of Louis the XIVth; who, before he became the tool of Madame de Maintenon and the Jesuits, was the Grand Monarque, around whom all parties rallied.

To reign by sowing the seeds of discord, is an enormity in politics; but to take advantage of every institution, and turn it to the glory of the Monarch, is, on the contrary, the first code of politics; and if Louis the XVth had acknowledged the service of all parties; he would have been served by all, with that zeal and emulation, which the proximity of these opposite factions, necessarily must have given a spur to. But the King in establishing *two* Political Ministries, gives his confidence and protection to one only; the other is merely a ministry of curiosity. In this point of view, his check on the actions of Madame de Pompadour, the *protégée* of Maria Theresa; and his check on the actions of Monsieur le Duc de Choiseul, the creature of

that same Princess; forms a singular and most useful institution, which is a source of amusement and information; although contradictory, it may serve to prove that our interest was, or was not sacrificed, at such a Court. Be that as it may; the King becomes every day more attached to this secret Ministry; and gives up more of his time to it, than to the Department of Foreign Affairs; where his agents are so timid, that they dare not assert either a negative or an affirmative, but deal in "*But;*" "*If;*" and "*Perhaps,*" whilst the correspondence of the Count de Broglie, who is the centre point of an hundred secret agents, is daring, penetrating, ingenious, and fertile in projects. This correspondence alone has the power of rousing the Prince from that apathy; that constant uniformity of acquiescence; that universal passiveness; and that nullity, which forms his character.

I have it from good authority, and from a direct channel, that Monsieur le Duc de Nemours, notwithstanding all his abilities, and that remarkable activity, for which he

is distinguished, never announces to the council any important events that have taken place at Petersburg; at London; or even at Madrid, but what they are known beforehand.

The King, who relies confidently on the secret ministry of the two Broglies, and who lets his ministers say and do just what they please at the Council Board, said, one day after the Duke of Choiseul had finished speaking, "But, apropos Monsieur de Choiseul, tell me something of what is doing at Vienna and at Madrid, in this business———?" The poor Duke, who knew nothing of the matter, of course remained silent and confused. The intelligence, alluded to, did not arrive for ten days afterwards. At other times, the King proposes wagers in the Council; and says to Monsieur de Choiseul, "Let us lay a bet, Monsieur le Duc, that such an operation will be determined on in the Cabinet of St. James's."

"Ah! Sire," replies the Duke, "I can

assure your Majesty, they have not even a thought of such a thing———" "Not a thought of such a thing!" said the King, "there, read that;" taking out of his pocket (into which, in those days, neither Madame de Pompadour, nor the little girls, as yet presumed to put their hands) a dispatch, which contained a most circumstantial account of what had passed at St. James's, and of the orders which had been given in consequence, and read it aloud to Monsieur de Choiseul, in full Council. Monsieur le Duc had thus the mortification to see, in the hands of the King, a decyphered letter, with the cypher annexed to it, which he can neither read, or make out, like those in his office. Fortunately, Messieurs de Bioglio are neither suspected, nor thought capable of such depth in politics; as they take care to employ for their purposes, only such persons as are very little known; like Louis the XIVth, who had, as well as his successor, secret agents in all the Courts of Europe. The expense attending this, is said to be prodigious; but if it be made useful to

the king, in hastening the termination of a war, or preventing one, it is evidently a saving, instead of a burthen to the State. This Secret Commission has also an advantage which is little known; it is inaccessible to all the Foreign Powers, who have so great an interest in bribing and purchasing our diplomacy, that they also, as well as ourselves, sacrifice millions to gain over to their interest our clerks, and our public officers; the Mistresses of our ministers; the lovers of those mistresses; and the mistresses of those lovers, &c.

CHAPTER II.

The modes adopted by Madame de Pompadour to amuse the King's melancholy. Plays, and Music performed in the King's private appartements.

THIS secret correspondence gave a sort of occupation to the King, whose apathy encreased with his years. Madame de Pompadour, under all these circumstances, was busied in finding another way to amuse the King in his melancholy. David charmed the fury of Saul by his music. Madame de Pompadour thought of a new means to rouse Louis the XVth from his misanthropy. Madame de Pompadour had been accustomed for several years, to invite the King, during the Passion Week, to Concerts of Sacred Music, which she gave him in her appartments. In the Grand Chorus, the finest voices, chosen from amongst the greatest talents of the Capital, were heard in unison

with the Musicians of the King's Secret Band. Madame de Pompadour, Madame de l'Hopital, Mademoiselle Fel, Monsieur d'Ayen the son, Jellotte a famous Musician, Monsieur le Vicomte de Rohan, Madame de la Salle all sung on these occasions. and Madame de Marchais who was of all these parties, was particularly distinguished.*

I was present some years ago, at the open-

* She is now alive and in perfect health; this tenth year of the French republic. She was the wife of Monsieur d'Angevillers, and the Sister of Monsieur de la Borde, formerly Governor of the Louvre, and first Valet de Chambre to Louis the XVth; a woman as distinguished by her merit and the graces of her person, as by her talents and her wit, who supported with resolution the persecutions and the horrors of the revolution, who witnessed the emigration of her husband, and her brother perishing on the scaffold. This brother is known in the literary world by the work of "The Descriptions of Switzerland," in folio; by his essays on Music; by some most interesting Memoirs written by him on the reign of Louis the XVth his master, and his friend; by his publications on Geography, and also on Ancient History; by his edition of the Trial of Chalais; by his remarks on the Iron Mask; by a defence of the Memory of the King, against the insinuations of Monsieur de la Harpe, in the *Mercur*; and by the grand undertaking of the Picturesque Journey in France, with very fine engravings, describing our most picturesque views, and public buildings, and it was a man of merit like this, that the Revolutionary Government, by its tribunal condemned to death!!! (note by Citizen Soulavie, editor of these Memoirs).

ing of the Salle d'Opera, in the Palace of Versailles, and was a close, as well as observant spectator of the amusements which the Marchioness contrived for the King. Two ballets composed by Bernard, a prologue, and divertissement formed the basis of this entertainment, Madame Marchais who was extremely pretty, represented a Grace, in "The Forges of Lemnos," Madame la Duchesse de Brancas played Astrea; Monsieur d'Ayen was transformed into Vulcan; and Time was represented by Monsieur de la Salle; at my especial request, his Majesty permitted me, to be only a simple spectator.

In another piece, for example that of Adonis, this Monsieur d'Ayen who played Vulcan, played also Adonis; Madame Marchais played the part of Love; Madame la Duchesse de Brancas, Diana; and Madame de Pompadour, Venus.

I kept my eyes fixed on the King to know if this Venus, spoke to his heart; but it appeared to me that the eyes of his Majesty were

inanimated and full of indifference ; and in fact he every day became more disgusted with her, still yet so infatuated was he, and so strong were the ties that attached him to her, that this good natured Prince could neither prevail on himself to send her back to her husband, or to a Convent. What a subject of joy would such a circumstance have furnished to the Court and the Capital !

In a few years the King became weary of these sorts of amusement, and after the attempt made by Damiens on his life, it was infinitely more difficult to entertain him with them. In the interim Madame de Pompadour was daily growing thinner ; her malady rendered her every day more disagreeable to the King ; her decayed form, had little attraction for a man who, like him, had an ardent imagination and was of a most amorous constitution. Under circumstances so embarrassing, Madame de Pompadour hit upon a most extraordinary plan to gratify the King's passion, without losing her power over him.

CHAPTER III.

Commencement of the King's pleasures at the Parc aux Cerfs. Madame de Pompadour makes the King a present of her little Hermitage, as convenient for his amusements, and the purposes of his libertinism, and to withdraw him from other society.

AT this juncture, the making a conquest of the King's heart, was the aim of many of the females of the Court, as well as of Paris. Many noblemen also of the first distinction took upon themselves to procure objects capable of captivating him. Madame de Pompadour who was a watchful observer of this anxious officiousness, resolved on giving to the King young girls who should be her dependants, and act under her guidance.

A young Courtier one day showed to the King, a miniature which had been taken for that purpose. It was that of a young person

of most extraordinary beauty, “ *and a thousand times more beautiful than beauty can be imagined to be,*” according to an expression made use of in a private bulletin of those days, sent to Madame le Maréchale d’Estrées.

To fall in love with the picture of a beautiful object, is a circumstance which is found in so many romances, that I should be fearful of giving an air of fiction to these Historical Memoirs, if I was to say that the King became enamoured at the very sight of it. “ I cannot figure to myself,” said Louis the XVth “ that nature ever produced so beautiful a young creature; this miniature can only be a work of fancy, not the representation of a living object.”

Highly pleased with the ready success of his plan, the courtier assured him that the young lady whom it represented, really was in existence; and by way of still further stimulating the curiosity of the Monarch, and irritating his desires, he added; that to convince the King he had not deceived him, he might

if he pleased, compare the original with the portrait.

This miniature represented a young person scarcely twelve years of age; her name was Mademoiselle * * *, born ———; the regularity of her features; the ingenuous openness painted on her countenance; the freshness of her complexion, which could only be compared to that of a rose, all concurred in making her a perfect beauty. The King had scarcely looked at her, when he confessed that the Painter of the Miniature, so far from having flattered her, had not even done her that justice which was due to her.

The graces of her youth, the beauty of her shape, the timidity which the presence of the King inspired her with, all united in irritating the desires of Louis the XVth, to whom a continual round of orgies, had already given a taste for libertinism. That innocence which he had reckoned on, he was delighted to find; and from that time, it was observed he con-

tracted a taste for initiations of this sort, which he resolved to indulge himself in.

If beauty could confer rank at Court, then would Mademoiselle * * * *, have classed amongst the first; but the King, who had yet some respect for public opinion, was fearful that in introducing Mademoiselle * * * *, the disparity of age, and the extreme impropriety of such a connexion with a child, should be censured. The inexperience, and simplicity of the answers, and the observations of Mademoiselle * * * *, were also extremely inconvenient at times. The King determined, therefore, to keep her in a state of seclusion, that he might publicly introduce her whenever he should think it proper; and, in the meantime, to superintend the perfecting of her education, and elevating her, by degrees, to that situation which, as circumstances might favor, he destined her for.

Madame de Pompadour, who was a silent observer of these events, pretended perfect ignorance of this intrigue of the King's.

Punctually informed, by Binet and by those who were admitted into the interior of the Petit's Appartement, of every thing that was passing; she was resolved secretly to favor this connexion, and not only to promote it, but to give it her assistance; for this purpose, it was necessary to procure for the King a convenient spot, where he might meet Mademoiselle * * * *, whenever he pleased, without the inconvenience of publicity. This was no easy thing to be accomplished, on account of the numerous train of attendants, which necessarily are attached to the visits of a King of France; who, unlike Henry the IVth; was ignorant of the delights of being at times incognito; but Madame de Pompadour managed this matter for the King, by artfully observing to him, that she was quite tired of her small house, called the Hermitage. She carried her dexterity so far, as to let the Prince believe she was perfectly ignorant of the use he might make of this house; whilst, on the other hand, she assured Monsieur le Prince de Soubise, that she was perfectly easy on the secret of Mademoiselle * * * *, who was

yet too young to be actuated by ambition; whilst by his connexion with her, the King would be kept from bad company, and the dangerous ambition of intriguers; as if, in both these points of view, she herself was not the most exceptionable personage about the Court!

The Hermitage of Madame de Pompadour had been built, some years before, at the royal expence, for the private pleasures of the King and his favorite. The people, by whom she was both hated and despised, murmured loudly when this house was building; the building and the garden took up a large space in the Park of Versailles, on the road to St. Germain, and the public are not in the habits of patiently submitting, to having their promenades, or their pleasures circumscribed. It has not been said, that the King was acquainted with the views, or the motives, for the officious readiness of Madame de Pompadour; but it is scarcely to be imagined, he could suppose, she was ignorant of a connexion, which was known to the whole Court; he, however, gave her credit for hav-

ing sought to oblige him in so handsome a manner; and was pleased both with her delicacy and her prudence; so much so, that in proportion as he lost all sensual inclinations for her person, yet his friendship for her seemed to encrease. He accepted, therefore, her offer of the Hermitage, with so much the more readiness, as there was no place in the environs so convenient for his purposes with Mademoiselle * * * *.

Such was the origin of the famous *Parc aux Cerfs*.

The imagination cannot figure to itself any thing so charming, as this little habitation of Madame de Pompadour. The artist who had been employed in fitting it up, had preserved the rural and natural beauties of its situation; in its exterior, it bore something of the appearance of a farm house; but its interior was finished, in the most exquisite taste; appropriate to the hours of relaxation, and the sensual pleasures, of a great Monarch.

If the Chateau of Versailles, offers to view, every thing which is expected ; and required for the splendor, and the majesty of a King of France ; the Hermitage presents all those minutiae of elegance, appropriate for the person, for whom it was destined. The rooms were hung with the finest silks of Persia ; landscapes ; young lovers ; shepherds and shepherdesses ; an old hermit ; and other analogous objects ; painted by the first artists of Paris ; formed its decorations.

The gardens were far different from the monotonous appearance, and insipid symmetry of those belonging to the royal seats, which were planned by Le Nôtre. A long straight line, and the sentiment it gives birth to, is not appropriate to lovers. Winding alleys, and shady groves, are the favorite haunts of solitude, and of love. In one part of the gardens of the Hermitage, was to be seen a figure of Adonis, in white marble ; rising from amidst a thicket of roses ; whilst bowers of myrtle and of jessamine ; transparent fountains ; terraces ; and grass walks

laid out in the most pleasing taste; were every where to be found.

It was in this habitation, that Madamede Pompadour brought to perfection, her art of gallantry. If the King had appointed to meet her, in any spot of the grounds, she always took care to be before-hand with him; and Louis found her disguised, sometimes as a milk maid; sometimes as a nun; and at others, as an abbess, or as a dairy girl, offering him milk, warm from the cow. One day she dressed herself as a gardener's wife, or as a peasant girl; and another day, as a shepherdess; so difficult, was the task of rousing the King from his melancholy. When all the inventions of art were exhausted; she then thought herself, of occupying the Prince in the education of children, fresh from the hand of nature; to make them objects of his pleasures. The amusing a prince of his character, was now become the most difficult part of the business of the favorite.

Mademoiselle • • • • • Having become the

successor of Madame de Pompadour in this delicious abode, fixed for some months both the affection and inclination of the Monarch. She had great quickness of understanding, pleasing manners; and shewed great capacity, both for learning, and comprehension.

The King was her frequent visitor; but her mode of life was very retired, and very few ladies of the Court were admitted to her. To visit at the Hermitage, was a mark of great intimacy with, or confidence on the part of the King.

One day, Mademoiselle * * * * said to the King, with a sneering smile, "What terms are you on now-a-days, with the old coquette?" The King, who was persuaded she had not put a question of that kind to him, entirely from herself, shewed his displeasure; he knit his brows; bit his lips; and looking sternly at her, ordered her instantly to tell him, who had put it into her head, to make such a speech to him.

Mademoiselle * * * *, extremely terrified, told him, it was the Maréchal d'Estées.

This lady had lived a long time in the closest habits of intimacy with Madame de Pompadour; but the friendships of women, being naturally very subject to change; they had become enemies; and the King finding that Madame d'Estées wished to effect by intrigue, the ruin of Madame de Pompadour, who was odious to the whole Court of France, as well as the nation; banished Madame d'Estées to one of her estates.

As to Mademoiselle * * * *, the King was too sincerely attached to her, not to pardon her, for what was the effect of her inexperience. He continued his connexion with her, till she made him the father of a fine child; when he married her to a gentleman; with whom she lived in the most irreproachable manner.

CHAPTER IV.

Continuation of the means employed by Madame de Pompadour to amuse, and preserve her influence over Louis the XVth. Anecdotes of Monsieur de Lugeac. The King manifests the most decided taste for the young girls, procured for him, through the means of Madame de Pompadour. Secret anecdotes of the Petit's Apartemens, and of the Parc aux Cerfs.

MADAME DE POMPADOUR well convinced that the King might be governed ; and also that he was not averse to being so ; and knowing that the Cardinal had found the secret of ruling over him, and had constantly taken advantage of it, until his death ; and that Madame de Châteauroux had possessed equal influence over him, except in the moment when the King, terrified by the threats of his Confessor, at Metz, sent her back to her sister in disgrace ; and that she, herself, (Madame de

Pompadour) had subjected him to her own sway, and had succeeded in rousing him from his melancholy, and in amusing him, by varying his pleasures; continued, indirectly, supplying this Prince with young girls, which she had the art of making acceptable to him.

The anecdotes, similar to what I have just related, are without number. It was by the means of portraits, that those persons whom it was wished to throw in the Prince's way, were made known to him. It would have been indelicate to have praised a young person present; but there was no indelicacy in praising a fine portrait.

The Marquis de Lingeac, nephew to Madame de Pompadour, interested in seconding the views of his aunt, and as well versed as herself, in the art of flattering his master, vaunted, to the King, the praises of the young girls that Le Bel, his Valet-de-Chambre, collected with so much care and address, in the Capital.

A celebrated painter having undertaken to paint a holy family, on the *wainscoting* of the laboratory of Maria Leczinska ; and ignorant, as well as that Princess, that Madame de Pompadour had chosen, for the scene of her artifices, the very apartment of the most pious of Queens ; painted, on the wood work, from a likeness of the most beautiful girl that could be found, a lovely Virgin Mary, in the bosom of her family.

The King, who plainly perceived that this figure was copied from the life, and was a portrait, expressed his sensations at the sight of it ; and Lugeac, who had received his lesson from Madame de Pompadour, always skilful in aiding the King in his caprices, offered to produce the model, after which the Saint had been copied. It was a young lady of about twelve years of age, of a heavenly countenance ; the daughter of an Irish gentleman, who had fled to France, during the revolutions of his own country.

To carry off this child from her Mother,

Le Bel, and Lugnac laid a plan, which seemed to promise success.

They persuaded the Mother, who idolized her daughter, that the child had been so fortunate as to attract the notice of a lady, of the very highest distinction at the Court of the Queen, who was much struck with her, during the time the painter was taking her likeness; they assured her, that this lady was in the highest favor with the Queen, on account of her great piety, that she was very rich, that she had no children; and that the least piece of good fortune that could happen to her, was to be educated at Court, under the eyes of the Queen, and to receive a wedding portion from her Majesty.

Where is the Mother whose heart could withstand such tempting representations! Madame de * * *, quite enchanted at such unexpected good fortune, took her daughter to the house of the Queen's supposed Lady of Honour, and spent the day there, returning

a thousand grateful blessings to Providence, for such unlooked-for favors to her child.

After the dinner, they persuaded this unfortunate Mother to absent herself for a short time, under pretence, of trying how her daughter would bear the separation. Le Bel was at this moment waiting for her, and this fabricator, of so many various, and deep laid plans, carried away the child, into an apartment of his own, which was situated in a pavilion of the Thuilleries ; a sort of dépôt, (which since has been pretty well known) for those children which he made choice of, for the pleasures of the Prince. The Mother, on returning to this pretended lady of the Queens, could neither find her daughter, nor the lady, nor Lugeac, nor Le Bel ; but the door was shut against her. In vain had she recourse to cries, tears, or threats, or calling heaven and earth to witness the infamy of such an act ; a person, at last made his appearance, who told her, that her daughter was in a privileged sanctuary, where not even the Police could presume to make a

search; finally, she was given to understand, that the king was the lady, whom her daughter had the good fortune to please; which gave the finishing stroke to the anguish and despair of the unhappy Mother, both on account of the disproportion of rank, as well as of age. These facts were ascertained from the mouths of those who were actors in this scene. The child, on her part, a prey to uneasiness and the loneliness of her situation, grew pale, and was greatly altered even on the next day; so much so, that the king was told a fatal illness might be the consequence, and she was on the point of being sent back to her mother; whom she unceasingly demanded of those about her; but her uneasiness being at last a little calmed by diamonds, caresses, and promises of seeing her mother when she should do as she was desired, she was presented to Louis the XVth, who was enchanted with the uncommon beauty and the candour of this child. "I will never part from her whilst I live," said the king to Le Bel when he saw her.

In the mean time he carried her into the

upper story of the château, and settled her in the loftiest rooms of his petit's appartemens, where he used to amuse himself with a young lady of Versailles, named * * *, extremely famous in the art of turning, which she had taught him.

When Louis the XVth went to Trianon, Le Bel carried the child to a house, in the Rue Satori ; but such was the jealousy of the King, that no one was permitted to see her. Becoming marriageable, and with child, five months after her installation into the petit's appartemens, she had a fall over a screen, which brought on a miscarriage. The King, who every day became more attached to her, was distressed beyond measure ; and so much was he interested about her, that Madame de Pompadour, who, of course, could not be ignorant of these mysteries, as her relation, M. de Lugeac, as well as Le Bel, made her the most faithful report of all the King's actions, grew every day more and more jealous of this child. She sought by every means in her power to check her influence,

and to interrupt the pleasures of the King with her; by introducing other objects to him, when the young lady again became pregnant, at the age of fifteen; at which period, she gave birth to a daughter; who on that very day, was taken from her mother, to be privately brought up.

Madame de Pompadour took advantage of the illness, and the absence of this young person, to marry her. She was united, in her fifteenth year, to Mouchet * * * *, and went with him, to live in a distant province. The King, whose delight she had been for three whole years, in the most inaccessible and private of his apartments, could not forget her. Claimed with her prudence, he afterwards attempted to renew his conversations with her, but content with fulfilling her duties as a wife, and a mother, she had the good sense to live at a distance from a Court, which even the favour of the King could not make an abode of tranquillity.

The Queen in the midst of these cir-

cumstances, appeared dejected, but, nevertheless, silent and resigned; she carried the sorrows and vexations, which this disorderly life of the King's occasioned her, to the foot of the Cross.

His Royal Highness the Dauphin also, expressed great sorrow for the fate of those children; and the regularity of his life, was the severest and most eloquent satire on the conduct of his father; who, without remorse, gave himself up to a life of libertinism, which he endeavoured to accommodate as well as he could, with his known attachment to his religion. To see this Prince at Mass, at Vespers, or at a sermon, one would have supposed one beheld another Saint Louis; so warmly, and with such apparent zeal, did he sing and pray with the congregation. His picture should be taken when he is reciting his *heures* in the Tribunal, at Versailles; when reading his prayers, he has every exterior of the most profound devotion; and even after he has shut his prayer book, and laid it on his *prie dieu*, (reading

deck) his lips continue in prayer, with such vast celerity, that every muscle of his countenance is in action. Many would suppose it was a mere matter of fact, he was playing; but quite the contrary. The king is naturally very religious; but he has ever had the failing of associating libertinism with religion. In the interior of his palace, he has given such proofs of this strange junction, that those who were studying his character, and seeking for the means of seducing and governing him, could not avoid laughing at him. If, on the one hand, he carried off so many little girls from their parents to serve as instruments, of his pleasure, yet, on the other, he took the greatest pains to instruct them himself, in the duties of religion. He taught them to read, to write, and to say their prayers, as a schoolmaster would have done; and was perpetually holding forth to them, the language of devotion. Next, forther, he went himself on his knees and praying with his usual fervor, he ordered these innocent creatures not to go to bed, until set addressing their prayers to God; and when

these prayers were over, the one selected, rose from her knees with him, and they retired together, talking all the time of God, the Virgin Mary, and the Saints: and afterwards when the Parc aux Cerfs (as this Hermitage of Madzme de Pompadour's was called) was stocked with little creatures, stolen from their parents, for his pleasures, religion formed a principal part of their education.

They were taken to mass with the greatest regularity; and when their health rendered them incapable of going there; the King ordered them to read the prayers of the mass in their room. Before the Parc aux Cerfs was exclusively appropriated for their abode; the Prince passed a great part of the day, in what was called Les Petits Appartemens, where they were lodged.

They had each two waiting women attached to them, and one of the King's principal amusements, was to dress them, and lace their stays, and to set them copies of writing. Many of these young ladies have been known

to imitate the King's hand-writing
 greatest exactitude, and to follow
 hand-writing after it.

This passion of the
 young girls, that Madame de
 had inspired him with, was
 lost, but ultimately their num-
 great, that it was thought nec-
 essary regulations respecting
 might satisfy the claims of hum-
 anity, and which would be
 infringing on the respect and
 which were due to the King
 would have been injured, by the
 of their numerous progeny.
 Sartine and Monsieur Bertin
 of the pleasure of the Pa-
 in possession of the minds of
 their children, and what some
 State. They were brought up

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 for a variety

high state of preservation, being carved in white marble) the Prince instantly exclaimed, on seeing the lip, " Ah! it is from thence we inherit our lip."

The likeness of all the children of Louis the XVth to their father is so very strong, that it is a very difficult matter to conceal their origin; so much so, that the King's children, whatever pains are taken to pass them under other denominations, are instantly known by their schoolfellows, at College, and are often very proud and vain of it.

When their education is finished, the boys are placed either in the Army or the Church. The girls are brought up in Convents, and either take the veil, or are married, (as their mothers were;) by the means of an ample marriage portion.

As to the daughter that Louis the XVth had by Mademoiselle * * *, who found the subject of the beginning of this Chapter, the

was brought up like the others, without the smallest communication with her mother.

But as she was a woman of virtue, great feeling, and an excellent mother; she took her measures so well, that she succeeded in procuring a knowledge of what had become of the daughter, she had had by Louis the XVth.

She discovered that her child was a boarder in the Convent of the Presentation, in the Rue des Postes; but how was she to gain admittance into an house, inaccessible to every one; the Superior of which was in possession of the King's secret? The ingenuity of a mother, suggested to her the placing under the care of this abbess, and the educating in her convent, a little girl, of three years old, the issue of her marriage; and by this means, to obtain permission to penetrate into the interior of the convent, and to embrace the daughter whom she had borne to Louis the XVth, in her visits to the little

girl she should place there; thus, the more firm and inflexible, the Court showed itself, in separating the mothers, from the children of the King, so much the more did Madame * * * * employ her zeal and contrivances to know, and to attach to herself, the child, that Louis the Ninth had deprived of a mother's care.

Nature herself seemed to assist the solicitudes of the mother. Scarcely was her little daughter, entered into the Court of the Presentation, but her sister, the daughter of the King, (who, at that time, was fifteen years of age) took the greatest fancy to her; hence a new source of delightful sensations, both for the children and for their mother, if ever they should be destined to know, how really they were connected with each other. But the orders of the Court to the Superior were so express and strict, as to forbid all entrance to the Convent. All that Madame de * * * * could do, was to become the bearer as they say and her

Remarking in one of them the clear brown complexion of the King; his fine eyes; his smile; the nose of the Bourbons; the ensemble, and the majestic mien of the King; his air; and his figure; she recognised the daughter of Louis the XVth, from all the other boarders; and, as a fond mother, shed tears of joy at the recognition.

How ingenious are the contrivances of a woman of this disposition! Madame de *** succeeded in gaining admission into the Convent; and to dine, in private, with her *two* daughters, in the cell of a nun, who was an eye witness to this affecting scene.

The eldest girl already idolized her young sister, without knowing that she was her sister; and, whilst the mother was in the cell bestowing her caresses on the little one, Mademoiselle de St. André (which was the name the daughter of the King was called by) as if inspired by nature, said to her mother, “Madame, I have ever been endeavouring, since I can recollect, but without success, to

and even ^{the} ~~the~~ friends of my mother! How happy are my friends and companions, in the Convent, who have mothers, and are beloved by them!"

Madame de had recognised her daughter, but restrained by the rigid orders of the King, and fearing not only the scandal of declaring herself, but that it might lead to an eternal separation, courageously listened to the voice of prudence, and restrained the expressive sensations of a mother.

"Oh! no, Madame, I am wrong!" added Mlle. Angélique de St. André, "in saying that I have no mother! I have one! My affection for you, your regard for me, and those emotions which I experience, but cannot account for every time I see you, all tell me, that it is you who are my mother! Yes! you are my mother, and so it will I have ever be," smiling at the Duke, and the Duchess, the little girl, and the daughter of Louis the XIII, embraced each other and wept together.

The tutor of Mademoiselle de St. André, named Jount, and Monsieur Bertin were soon informed of this affecting scene; the King, also was made acquainted and the most rigorous orders were immediately issued for an horrible separation, which deprived both mother and daughter, of all further knowledge of each other. This is the same young lady, who since has been married to Monsieur de———, and whose fine face, and exact resemblance to that of the King, touched the Monarch so forcibly at the moment of her presentation at Court, on her marriage, that he could not restrain from shedding tears, at seeing himself so exactly copied by the hand of nature.

This presentation took place during the favor of Madame Dubarré, who ordered Mademoiselle de Saint André, never to speak of her father, if she wished to please the King, or to obtain his favor.

But Madame de * * * * seeing that the King, her father, was so affected, and that

his cheeks were bathed with tears, threw herself on his neck, and pronounced the names of father and of daughter. She had before avowed Madame Dubarré that she would conduct herself so as to please her father, and him who was going to become her father-in-law.

CHAPTER V.

Continuation of the Anecdotes relative to the young ladies who succeeded in pleasing the King. History of Mademoiselle Tiercelin. Secret Anecdotes. The King imprisons his Mistress and her Father. Observations on the character of the King.

AMONGST the young ladies of this tender age, with whom the King amused himself either after, or during the period of Madame de Pompadour's favor, Mademoiselle Tiercelin was particularly remarked; whom the King ordered to take the name of Madame de Bonneval, the very day she was presented to him.

The King was the first who noticed this child, who at that time was only nine years of age, and walking with her nurse in the Gardens of the Thuilleries, one day that he came in state to visit his good city of Paris; and in the

evening having spoken to Le Bel of the beauty of this child, this confidential servant addressed himself to Monsieur de Sartines, to find out what was become of a pretty little girl of nine years old, beautiful as love, who was walking with her nurse in the Gardens of the Tuilleries, the day that the King came to Paris. This Monsieur de Sartines is a very skilful personage in his line; he set so many engines to work, that from nursery-maid to nursery-maid, they at last found out the one under whose care the child was, that had so struck the King; the angelic countenance of the child aided the discovery, and with a few louis the nursery-maid was bought over. It was the daughter of Monsieur Tresseltin, a man of distinction, who did not by any means bear an affliction of this nature patiently: he was nevertheless obliged to be silent, for he was told that he had lost his child, and that he ought to make the sacrifice of her, a source of wealth to himself, unless indeed he preferred losing his liberty.

Mademoiselle Tresseltin having become

Madame de Bonneval at the age of twelve years and six months, was introduced under that name into the Petits Appartemens at Versailles, for the amusement of the King. As she was by nature very giddy and capricious, she did not like him; "You are an ugly fellow," said she, throwing the diamonds and jewels that the King gave her, out of the window.

It was of this child and her father, the one as little dangerous as the other, that the Duke de Choiseul had the weakness to be jealous; it was reported to him, that the King of Prussia, tired both of him and of Madame de Pompadour, was secretly endeavouring to establish Mademoiselle Tiercelin, as declared Mistress to the King; the King certainly was excessively attached to her. It was also reported to the Minister, that Monsieur Tiercelin the father was deeply implicated in this foreign intrigue; in consequence of which, both father and daughter were separately confined in the Bastile.

The King's conduct in this matter, is

worthy of observation. It is certain that he for a long time opposed the wishes of Monsieur de Chaulieu, but at last he thought he had proofs of the reality of the intrigue (which was only a political dream, a phantom, existing but in the imagination of Monsieur de Chaulieu). Then it was that this Prince, who neither wants sense or penetration, but who has no resolution, was seen going out, coming in, and coming in, and going out again, before he could muster firmness enough to sign the fatal letters, which were to imprison Monsieur Dierich his father, and Madame de Bonnières his Mistress, who certainly was any thing but a conspirator.

The King, after he had determined on imprisoning her, came and embraced his little favorite, after which he dispatched and delivered the letter which was to shut her up, so that it was not until after the exile of Monsieur de Chaulieu, who in the first was almost at a great distance from the presence of the King, that the business of the plot which caused these two prisoners to be kept in the

Bastile, was discovered. Mademoiselle Tiercelin, instead of being again taken into favor, received orders to retire into a Convent, and she was only permitted to see her son, under the express condition that she should not declare herself his mother.*

* These anecdotes are strictly correct; Mademoiselle Tiercelin, known at that time by the name of Madame de Bonneval, related them circumstantially to Madame de ***, who confirmed them to me. It is the Mother of the Abbé Leduc, another striking resemblance of Louis the XVth, who had the courage to demand of the Judges of Louis the XVIth, the body of her nephew, for the purpose of burying it.

There are still existing in the French Republic, several of the children of Louis the XVth, acknowledged as such, as well as several other children belonging to the Duke of Orleans (the father of equality), towards whom it is to be hoped the Republic will act with liberality and justice. It has been remarked that very few of the children of our Princes born out of wedlock, have quitted France, and that those who remained, supported their misfortunes with courage and philosophy; they cannot without injustice be excluded from the benefit of the law, which ensures a provision for children born out of wedlock. The aspect of these children, the remains of a house, which has filled the universe with its fame, offers something so strikingly sentimental in the bosom of the Republic, that will doubtless induce the Government to give them those proofs of that impartiality and of French magnanimity, so consistent with our national character. The house from whence they trace their descent, has assuredly left a sufficiently magnificent inheritance behind it, that the Government can have no hesitation in fulfilling towards them, those duties which nature inspires fathers with. Feeling and toleration destroy faction, and create attach-

tenay, to stile themselves the descendants of Louis the Gros, "Is not this family a justificatory proof of the solidity of our establishment?" Louis the XIVth would not acknowledge the House of Courtenay; not because it would have become the eldest branch of France, but because this acknowledgement gave them precedence over the nobles, and put it in *their power to dispute the point of precedence with the Princes.*

CHAPTER VI.

Conduct of Monsieur de Beaumont, Archbishop of Paris, during the discontents occasioned in France, by Madame de Pompadour.

I was yesterday with the Archbishop of Paris, and I implored his charity for a Gentleman of Brittany, reduced to the greatest distress, but who cannot stoop to the degradation of asking alms. I had written to him the day before on the same subject. Monsieur de Beaumont took a packet of double Louis out of his desk, and advanced for two thousand crowns on his account, in favour of the unhappy letter. I represented to him the delicate feelings of the gentleman, he took my letter and threw it into the fire, and then with that magnanimity which is not characteristic of him, he took the letters down, which were brought by his secretary, and read, as he was then engaged to do. "What

a meritorious action would it be thus to burn Madame de Pompadour! She will pervert our King, she will destroy every sentiment of piety or modesty at Court, she will ruin the cause of religion throughout the whole Kingdom. It is she who is the deadly enemy of the Jesuits."

The hatred of the two parties must lead to some great event. Of all the situations which the King confides to his subjects, there is not one in all the Kingdom of such consequence as the Archbishopric of Paris, the prelate of which is in fact Primate of the Gauls. Monsieur de Beaumont is consulted from one end of France to the other; he is the very soul of the clergy; his revenues amount to more than eight hundred thousand livres. If he chose, he could occasion the most serious embarrassments to the Court; his office might be a foot-stool to his ambition; for it is independent of all controul, and is for life. The King has no objection to Monsieur de Beaumont's being made a Cardinal, but he first requires

that he should resign his See; Monsieur de Beaumont, on the contrary, wishes to be both Cardinal and Archbishop of Paris, at the same time, and that is what will not be allowed.

That is the true cause in one word of all our wretched troubles; and who are the sufferers? The state and the religion! What cannot be effected by a man who, in the first place, has a regular council? Secondly, several hundreds of curates in and out of Paris, under his orders and at his nomination! Thirdly, an infinite number of Priests without livings, and who are all looking up to him for them! Fourthly, the Monks of the Molant's party who are all anxious to please him as being the head of their party! It is with this tribe that the Archbishops make no heart or of gold, and whose head is hard and impenetrable as marble, has given and will give considerable assistance, and Monsieur de Noailles, and the Cardinal de Retz. Monsieur de Beaumont, it is the weakness of his disposition as

and the virtue of his heart, will of course require an exclusive chapter in the history of Louis the XVth.

Madame de Pompadour and Monsieur de Beaumont hate each other most cordially, and make no secret of it. Monsieur de Beaumont considers her as the enemy of religion, of the Church, of its Ministers, and above all of the Jesuits. She is the protectress of the unbelievers, Atheists and Economists; and the enemy of the Queen, the Dauphin, and of all the friends of Monsieur de Beaumont.

Madame de Pompadour, on her part, considers Monsieur de Beaumont as the natural enemy of all that she loves; but what is most distressing to her, is to foresee that he is much younger than the King; and it being his office, as Archbishop of Paris, to close the King's eyes, it is his interest to take advantage of the terrors of the dying King, to make him submit to the duties of his creed, and

that he will handle the concubine, as Monsieur de Litz-Janes did Madame de Chateauroux; the scene of Metz is an eternal subject of uneasiness to her.

The resentment of the Archbishop has a laudable purpose in view, but if he were a more disinterested character, to what a length might he not carry matters?

CHAPTER VII.

New modes adopted by Madame de Pompadour to amuse the King, and to preserve her influence over him. She endeavours to engage him in beautifying the City of Paris, and in promoting the progress of the Arts. Nullity of the King, who has no taste for the Arts. Feelings of the Parisians towards Louis the XVth, and of Louis the XVth towards the Parisians.

IN vain did Madame de Pompadour conceal her intrigues, and the schemes which she devised to amuse the King, for latterly this Prince felt for her the most perfect indifference, and held her in secret contempt. The murmurs of the party attached to the Queen, and to His Royal Highness the Dauphin, were in proportion to the patience of a Monarch, who thought Madame de Pompadour under his government, when, in fact, it was she who governed him.

It had been foreseen, for some time, that the terms they were on with each other, must lead to a crisis.

The friends of the favorite, who were fearful of a separation, and an open breach, gave her every possible advice for the preservation of her influence. They persuaded her to place herself at the head of the Fine Arts, and to make them a source of amusement to the Prince, this was particularly the advice of the Choumouk, when they began to withdraw themselves into the confidence of the King; but Louis the XVth is not gifted with a taste for the Arts, like Louis the XIVth, and, exclusive of that, he has no regard for his great City of Paris, the beautifying of which was the end proposed by the encouragement of the Arts.

The King never forgave any injury, he took every affront most sensibly, and always ill, than which he is almost equal. When he came to the Choumouk, at the commencement of his acquaintance with Madame de Pompadour,

instead of applauses and shouts of "long live the King," there reigned a dead silence, which caused him the greatest mortification; and he was a long time before he visited his capital again, where he was received the first time he renewed his visit, with the shouts of "long live the King," mingled with cries for bread, which he had either suffered or countenanced raising the price of; since which he determined within himself to go as seldom as possible to his haughty capital: he was therefore far from being friendly to the plan, which had been proposed to Madame de Pompadour, of beautifying his good City, which on its part heartily returned him his indifference. It is nevertheless certain that he might have regained the love of the Parisians, had he shewn an interest in the embellishment of their city.

I will here briefly relate what I heard proposed on this business to Marigny, who wished for nothing so much as to put it into execution, if it had been his power.

It had been represented by those travellers

who had been in London, that in the religious revolutions of that city, the Monks and Nuns having fled, or been driven away, the English converted their churches and their gardens into superb Squares; which is the term given to large open spaces, adorned with statues and laid out in grass plots, and gravel walks.

It was proposed in France to surpass the English improvements, to suppress all the Benedictine Convents but one, to do the same by the Capuchin Convents, and to convert the gardens and vast spaces of ground attached to these Convents, into public squares, which would be of great utility both in promoting the circulation of air, as well as in the operation of commerce. The foul atmosphere of Paris in winter, is wholly to be attributed to the close and crowded manner in which the lower order of people are lodged, but the Architects of Paris, and the religious authors themselves, approve the plan of a structure that abates the inconveniences of the public, there situated in the way which

Madame de Pompadour did not endeavour to get the better of.

It was also proposed to decorate the gallery of the Louvre, by placing there the works of the first masters of the different schools of Europe,* but this grand plan was instantly opposed by the remonstrances of the principal painters of the day, actuated by a base spirit of jealousy, which ever is the bane of this class of persons; so that Madame de Pompadour abandoned this plan as she had done the other.

A plan of a much more magnificent nature was laid before her, that of *re-building the City of Paris*, the narrow and disgusting streets of which bear no small resemblance to the Lutetia of the Franks. The plan as proposed to her, was as follows: in the first place a general ground plan was placed before her, in which were marked those buildings that were intended to be preserved such as the Church of Notre

* Since realized by Buonaparte.

Down, &c., there were to have been covered
 spaces for the carriages, with the intention
 that during the first three of the houses,

These associated companies were to pur-
 chase large square lots of houses in the middle
 of streets, and to pull down the old houses,
 and rebuild them according to the new plan;
 as the purchase money would have been very
 small, and they were to have the selling of
 the new houses, exclusive of the materials of
 construction which were to be supplied,
 their profits, what with the speculation for
 the ground and the rebuilding the houses,
 would have been immense, but for the op-
 ports a failure indeed was to be expected
 of the Company of Ville Marie, and of the
 Company, the King refused to consent to the
 execution of the plan. It was then decided
 to pay and claim said the house and the lot, and
 to give and to give a street, which would
 join that of the street, to that of the street,
 and it would have a number of the lot and
 lot, and a number of streets at the City, and
 would have had the Company of Ville Marie

one side, and the Luxembourg on the other. The King was quite insensible and indifferent to this plan. It was then proposed to him to stucco the walls of the Palace of the Louvre, which is one of the finest monuments of modern architecture, and which is not even plastered over; but even that project failed, because a professional man, jealous of the beautiful simplicity of this edifice, opposed its execution. This second-rate genius would rather that this palace should go to ruin, that his own buildings may not be eclipsed by it. Painters and architects are all of them so self-opinionated, have so exclusive a self-love, and such a criminal selfishness, I may call it, that they would cheerfully demolish every chef-d'œuvre of their predecessors, provided their own productions might remain. There is not a public building erected in France, by an architect of the age of Louis the XIVth, that, if the continuation, or the finishing of it was to be entrusted to one of our second-rate men, would not run the risque of being spoiled, or disfigured by the modern ideas of the artist. It is not, however, the less true

that the beauties and general rules of architecture are the same at all times, and in all places.

This rage for demolition and deterioration is, in fact, common to the architects of all countries; each succeeding architect of Saint Peter's, at Rome, deviated from and disfigured the works and designs of his predecessor.

To these plans before-mentioned, others were added; such as that of clearing, at certain distances, spaces of ground, where four streets met, to form large openings, which would have been executed at no other expense than the purchase of the ground, towards which, the proprietors of the corner-houses would have been obliged to contribute, in proportion to the increased value of their houses.

This easy and cheap way of building would have changed the City, and still we go there and no remedy to the sad state of it.

into a city which would have had no equal in Europe. It was argued in favor of this plan, that it would greatly contribute to the health of the inhabitants; and it was proved that the disorders which every summer make such ravages in Paris, have their origin in the filth of certain quarters of the city, where the gutters are foul, the houses of the mechanics so crowded on each other, and the stagnant air so confined at the bottom of streets full of mud, and wet or damp at all seasons, from their being so narrow, and having the houses, on each side, four or five stories in height; so, that the City of Paris is ever the Lutetia of the Ancients, or the city of filth.

The King was equally indifferent to this project, and Madame de Pompadour, who would with pleasure have seen him occupied in pulling down and building up again, particularly in the formation of *French Squares*, which would have given an elegance to his Capital, of which no idea can be formed, could not persuade him to give, on this point, the least satisfaction to the Parisians, who are

actively partial to this sort of alterations and new buildings, and who have the vanity to wish that the Sovereign should take an interest in their affairs, and the beauty of their Capital. It was also proposed to erect another Hospital of Hotel Dieu, and that each patient should have a separate bed, this proposition was also failed, for the poor have no advocate at Court.

The King, indeed, built himself a charming little hunting box at Chou, he consented that Belle Vue should be erected for the purpose of his private gratification, and the Church of St. Germaine as a matter of devotion.

The project of the Military School (L'Ecole Militaire) succeeded, because Madame de Pompadour has exceedingly been sensible to the loss, the necessity of doing without her house, by the erection of some other building, and she gave an equal aid to her husband, the Parliament, the Val de Grace, Saint Cyr, the Invalides, the Louvre,

Versailles, &c. which are noble and grand monuments that remind us of the ancestors of our Kings.

Madame de Pompadour, “ *who had her fears (as she said) of being thrown into a ditch, either by the Clergy, by H. R. H. the Dauphin, or by the Parisian mob*, took some pains to prepare herself a burial place; and to entitle herself to it, she affected to be greatly interested in the rebuilding of a Church. Will it be believed what Church it was? That of the *Penitent Magdalen*. But the King, who was secretly ashamed of the libertine life he led, and who was informed that his favorite’s ambition led her to aspire to a magnificent sepulture, (although Madame de Mailly, in the bitterness of her repentance for having been his first Mistress, wished to be interred in the Church-yard of the Innocents, and even under the *drain*) and not wishing to leave to posterity a monument that should eternize the memory of the improper attachment he had borne to a woman detested by the universe, secretly thwarted this plan of

Madame de Pompadour's; and, if she does not change her mind on this subject, I am very certain, if the King survives her, that orders will be given that the remains of Madame be privately interred in some remote, if not disgraceful spot; and should a word be wanting, to influence him so to do, I am certain it will soon be whispered to him.

The King was more favorably disposed towards a plan of Madame de Pompadour's proposing to him, the establishing a manufacture of china at Sèvres. At the time of her being declared Favorite, the china in France was but a poor and awkward imitation of the figures, the flowers, and the landscapes of the china of Japan. This was the extent of our undertakings. Madame de Pompadour thought it worthy of France to possess a manufactory of china that should be as distinguished as her manufactures of Gobelin's Tapestry; of Soaps; and of Looking Glasses, &c. Chymists, for the improvement of the clay; painters of flowers and of landscapes, to ornament; and sculptors, to frame the

most beautiful forms, were called in, to bring this art to perfection. The French are so ingenious ! All the arts seemed to vie with each other in creating this in the shortest space of time. We had china both in vases and services superior to those of Saxony.

The King, on this occasion, was much pleased at the progress of an art which would enable him to furnish, from his own manufactory, table services of china, worthy of being sent as presents to the Sovereigns of Europe. The manufactory was first established at Vincennes ; the King had it removed to Sèvres ; became one of its subscribers, and took great pleasure in often going to inspect its progress. Previous to this establishment, which has given birth to so many other manufactures, France purchased yearly, from the Saxons or the Chinese, four or five hundred thousand livres worth of china ; and at the time this article is written, foreigners expend a much larger sum with us for the purchase of our china, which gives bread to our workmen ; enriches proprietors ; and adds to the

opinion that Foreigners entertain of our talents for undertaking and bringing every thing to perfection. We will, therefore, give that credit to Madame de Pompadour, which truth requires at our hands, for the encouragement which she gave to this art. Why have we not a greater number of traits of this kind to cite her honour? The subject that follows is also very creditable to her.

* The art of making china, as far as concerns the clay, was brought to perfection by Messieurs Macquer, de Milly, de Montigny, and Hellot, who discovered clays very superior to what had been before brought out.

Monsieur Bachelier, the same gentleman who first conceived and since executed the plan of introducing the art of drawing into the workshops of our manufacturers, greatly contributed to bring our china to perfection. Those charming bunches of flowers; those adorned table screens of *porcelaine*; those landscapes in which so much is displayed, and where the taste of the French Artista is so perceptible, are the result of his labours, and of the zeal which he displayed to bring this art to perfection.

CHAPTER VIII.

Continuation of the private life of Madame de Pompadour at the Court of France, and of her contrivances to amuse the King. She amuses herself in the act of engraving on gems and copper. She engraves the principal events of the History of Louis the XVth. Explanation of the twelve principal subjects from her graver. Anecdotes.

MADAME DE POMPADOUR may be reckoned amongst the class of mortals who are born with a taste for the arts; it has been said that the pretty engravings which really were the work of her graver, were not done by herself; but the assertion is void of truth. Having seen this lady at work, I can testify that these engravings are actually executed by herself. She had received every instruction necessary in this line, and as nature has gifted her with a great deal of talent, these works are the necessary result of study and of taste.

It is rare that persons of rank are gifted with talents of this kind; it should seem as if they were born to estimate and enjoy the fine arts, but not to be artists themselves. An Ambassador in his closet, is the most helpless of men without his secretary; and the secretary on his part, is totally inadequate to the purposes of representation or dignity; he is even unacquainted in the very dispatches which he is the compiler of, with the art of addressing every one according to his rank, which can only be acquired by the mode of education of a man of rank; and which people in the middle class of life, neither know nor can know. It was therefore doing great injustice to Madame de Pompadour, to refuse acknowledging her as the Authoress of those congratulations, which are full of softness and grace, as any other bourgeois, she has studied the art fundamentally, and as a woman of genius, she has the talent of expressing her ideas on the paper.

It is considered as a great mark of favor at the Court of Louis the XIV. to be admitted to the liberty of admiring Madame de

Pompadour's productions in this line ; none but her friends have ever been in possession of a collection of her engravings ; she fears their being criticised, as she has no other view in thus occupying herself, but of amusing the King, and of attachment to the person of his son.

It is with that intention that she engraved on a gem, the likenesses of the Dauphin and Dauphiness, whose features she greatly flattered : so much so that this Princess was weak enough for a moment to shew some pleasure at it, and to relax from that dignified manner which she constantly assumed, and even carried to the greatest degree of hauteur, whenever chance threw her in the way of Madame de Pompadour. These two portraits have since been engraved upon copper, but are little known. Madame de Pompadour also engraved a portrait of the King, but it had not the same merit of execution as the Dauphin's : she engraved both on a gem and on copper, the likeness of the Abbé de Bernis her dependant,

and we may also say, *her Pigeon*, since it is thus she always calls him.

Triumph of Fontenoy.

Madame de Pompadour had formed the intention and partly executed it, of engraving both on gems, and on copper, all the principal events of the reign of Louis the XVth. She began this curious undertaking with the Battle of Fontenoy. The King is represented in this Print, as receiving a crown from the hands of Victory, and driving the Dauphin his son in an antique car; it is known that he led him himself to the field of battle, and armed him as a Knight from top to toe (*de pied en'cap*) according to the mode of our ancestors. Madame de Pompadour could not present to the King any subjects so flattering for engravings: the King had gained this battle in person, and with such success; that the Monarch, his Son, the first Prince of the Blood, and the other Princes, were in this Battle, which was obstinately contested, and the victory so disputed, that *Le Dece* was sung both in London,

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and we may also say, *her Pigeon*, since it is thus she always calls him.

Triumph of Fontenoy.

Madame de Pompadour had formed the intention and partly executed it, of engraving both on gems, and on copper, all the principal events of the reign of Louis the XVth. She began this curious undertaking with the Battle of Fontenoy. The King is represented in this Print, as receiving a crown from the hands of Victory, and driving the Dauphin his son in an antique car; it is known that he led him himself to the field of battle, and armed him as a Knight from top to toe (*de pied en cap*) according to the mode of our ancestors. Madame de Pompadour could not present to the King any subjects so flattering for engravings: the King had gained this battle in person, and with such success; that the Monarch, his Son, the first Prince of the Blood, and the other Princes, were in this Battle, which was obstinately contested, and the victory so disputed, that *Te Deum* was sung both in London,

and in Paris : the King never spoke of this day, without shewing how much he was satisfied with it. At the bottom of the engraving, Madame de Pompadour had the precaution, as will be seen, to engrave two words which are to be found at the bottom of all her plates, “Pompadou sculpsit.”

Victory of Lawfeld.

After the Battle of Fontenoy, that of Lawfeld was the one which was the most flattering to the King, having there beaten the Duke of Cumberland. The Counts of Clermont and d'Estrée, distinguished themselves so much, that the enemy lost more than ten thousand men ; and left twenty-nine pieces of cannon on the field of battle ; the King slept the same night in the very room, where the Duke of Cumberland had slept the evening before. The enemy in their flight left the field covered with standards annons, muskets, the dying and the dead, whom they had not time to carry off. Madame de Pompadour very ingeniously introduced the field of battle into

her engraving; where victory trampling under foot the Ensigns of the enemy, presents a crown to the King.

Engraving relative to the Peace of 1718.

The idea of this print is a very happy and ingenious one; the King is seen placed between the two Goddesses of Peace, and of Victory; the last of whom wishes to entice the King, who is clothed as Hercules, to her side; mural crowns scattered on the ground, recall to his mind the number of heroes who served under him; but the Monarch pacifically inclined, listens to the persuasions of the Goddess of Peace; he turns his eyes from the field of battle, to fix them on those of Plenty and of Harvests.

Underneath the figures is "Preliminaries of the Peace of 1718."

Painters are not the best historians, or the most to be depended upon; what led to a conclusion of a peace, was the negotiation

entered into by the English at Petersburg, for subsidizing thirty thousand Russians to be employed against France ; which body of men had actually begun their march. The Council judged it impolitic to accustom these barbarians to penetrate into Europe.*

* The Author of these Memoirs might also add that the King of England paid one hundred thousand pounds sterling, to the Czarina, for this military aid. He might also have observed that Russia was on his occasion unmindful that her own interests, with regard to Prussia and Austria, should have led her in the North, as well as those of France in the South, to constantly lean towards that of the two hostile powers (Austria and Prussia) which has the smallest territory and population, and to humble that of the two which should assume too great a sway over the other; always bearing in mind that Prussia has it infinitely less in its power to aggrandize itself, or enlarge its dominions, than the House of Austria, having for its neighbour a declining nation, which through the excess of its stupidity and its ignorance has done all in its power, during the eighteenth century, to complete the destruction of its Empire.

Mr. Pitt will be found not to have been the original author of the idea of calling the Russians into Europe, at the approach of the end of a war; his predecessors had entertained the same idea as himself, of subsidizing an army of Russians against us: Louis the XVth, more skilful, more humane than the Merlins, the Reveilleres, the Treilharts, entered into a treaty, by which it was stipulated that the 80,000 Russians who arrived in Bohemia, to the assistance of Maria Theresa, should be sent back; and in a little more than two months afterwards, the definitive treaty of peace was signed at Aix la Chapelle. It was however rather a treaty of truce, or temporary tranquillity, by which the great contracting powers found themselves nearly in the same state as they were before the war, with the exception of

Birth of His Royal Highness the Duke of Burgundy.

Three years after the peace, the birth of a Prince occasioned the most general rejoicing throughout the Kingdom. Madame de Pompadour, jealous, like every narrow-minded woman, of not being able to figure in the fêtes that this birth would occasion, took it into her head to change them into acts of Piety, and works of Charity; she detests all fêtes and public rejoicings, where she finds she cannot shew off by the side of the King, and where she is necessarily eclipsed by the Queen and the Dauphiness. She proposed to engage the City of Paris to marry six hundred poor girls,

Austria, which lost a province of importance, of Don Philip, who acquired the Dutchy of Parma; of the King of Sardinia, who added some Italian possessions to his dominions, and lastly of the King of Prussia, who gained the grand prize, Silesia, a most valuable conquest, and the principal cause of the actual and future grandeur of the Prussian Monarchy, as it obliges this power to hold itself in perpetual readiness for war, on account of its powerful neighbour Austria, and to be ever on the watch, as being perpetually menaced by that offended power, which was obliged in 1745, to sign the cession of so fine a country, which a war of seven years duration could not recover back.

rather than to indulge in popular and costly entertainments, and fire works, which, said she, "only interest for a minute." She calculated the number of children these marriages would give to the State, to repair the losses of the war. The novelty of the project made it acceptable, and it was adopted. It was not foreseen that this system of the Grisettes, tended to undervalue the customs of a Monarchy, of which the Kingly power, and the ceremonies attached to it, are the very essence. Madame de Pompadour was nevertheless *suspected*, and the marriages as well as the fêtes were each of them celebrated. She gave orders that all the single young women on her estates should be married, and portioned, as *she* called it, "at her own expence," but, in reality, at the expence of the State.

It would be an endless undertaking to recount how many little stories she related to the King. On several of her estates she or-

dered that the young girls themselves should make choice of their own husbands.

France, in an engraving of Madame de Pompadour's on this occasion expresses, her eagerness to receive the new-born Duke of Burgundy, and the Goddess Pallas covers both France and the infant with her shield. It is mortifying that Madame de Pompadour should, almost always, represent herself under the figure of Minerva. In the present engraving it seems as if she took France and its destinies under her protection.*

This child died at ten years of age.

*Illness of His Royal Highness the Dauphin,
in 1752.*

The small-pox, which His Royal Highness the Dauphin was seized with the follow-

* Never was protection worse calculated! The Duke de Burgundy was the elder brother of the unfortunate Louis the 15th.

ing year, gave the greatest anxiety to the French Nation. The libertinism of the King was generally known; and although the Dauphin was of a very reserved disposition, was little known, and lived almost totally in retirement, yet the hopes of all France were fixed on him. Already was it *the common* question of conversation, in Paris, “If His Royal Highness the Dauphin should die, and should leave a young child, which of the two Princesses will be Regent, on the death of the King, if the Queen survives him? Will it be the Queen? Will it be the Dauphiness?” This illness gave rise to very strange observations, which shewed, to all good Frenchmen, how important to the interests of the Court of France it is, that the party and the cause of the Dauphin, should also be the party and the cause of the King. An opposite line of conduct has ever been, in France, prejudicial to the State, and has been the cause of all those unfortunate events with which our history abounds. It is so great to hold the reins of Government over a kingdom like France!

And the passion of Governing is so irresistible!

Madame de Pompadour, who wished to have the appearance of attention to the sick Prince, whom in heart she detested, made this illness a subject for an engraving on gems, and afterwards on copper; in which she represented France on her knees before the Goddess of Health, offering up her supplications for the recovery of the Dauphin; by her side was an altar, on which, according to the forms and customs of the ancients, a fire was seen burning for the preservation of the Dauphin.

The engraving was entitled—

The prayers of France for the re-establishment of the health of His Royal Highness the Dauphin.

Madame de Pompadour never engraved any plate in honor of the Queen, and it is remarkable that in the prints, from her graver,

there were never any religious ideas; her feelings, whenever she gave way to them, were all those of the Heathens. How could she, in her engravings, do honor to that, which every action of her life tended to vilify and to destroy?

Recovery of the Dauphin.

During the illness of His Royal Highness the Dauphin, marks of attachment far more sincere than those of Madame de Pompadour attracted the attention of the public. The Dauphiness, who passionately loved her husband, quitted him not for a moment, but discharged, in the most exemplary manner, not only her duties as a wife, but even the painful and disgusting offices of a nurse. The King, the Queen, the Dauphin, his wife, and all the Royal Family came to Paris to return thanks to God, for the recovery of the heir to the Crown.

As to Madame de Pompadour, who is

looked upon as a flatterer, she occupied herself in an engraving, in which France is represented returning thanks to the Goddess of Health; which gave double force to the observations that were made on a prior occasion, that her engravings never gave honor to religion. His Royal Highness the Dauphin could not refrain from saying, "That Madame de Pompadour's thanks to Esculapius, could only be compared to those of the Sultan, if he should take it into his head to offer them to the God of the Christians."

Madame de Pompadour has, nevertheless, had some religious attachment, for one of her engravings is the portrait of a Priest; but then it must be confessed, that the Priest was a former lover of her own.

Apollo's (Louis the XVth) crowning the Genius of Sculpture and of Painting.

The metamorphosing Louis the XVth

into Apollo crowning the Arts; was neither appropriate, or founded on fact.

The King likes the Arts, but he is far from being a warm admirer, or an encourager of them.

The Prince, whose likeness is very striking, is represented, in this engraving, quite in a state of nudity, as well as the youthful genius, who receives the crown: which gave rise to its being asked, “which of the King’s body-guards, and which of his pages had served for her models?” And it was replied, “that it was Messieurs de ****, and de ****.” Sonnets and satires, without number, were composed on these secret anecdotes; and they at least proved to all the Court, that Madame de Pompadour had no ideas of decency when she engraved the King, in a state of nudity, under the character of Apollo.

*Minerva, the Benefactress and Protectress of
Engraving.*

It is true that Madame de Pompadour engraved Louis the XVth under the character of Apollo, but her motive for so doing was that she might represent herself under the character of Minerva.

She is dressed as a divinity, attended by a little Genius, who exposes to view her armorial bearings; which are three towers, or rather, to say the truth, her arms are those of the Pompadours; a very ancient family, now extinct, the Marquisate of which the King gave to her, and of which she appropriated to herself the arms, though they can never be sold with the Estate, because they form the distinction of the family. She therefore discarded the very appropriate arms borne by her father—the two Fishes;• which her brother Marigny still kept, after pur-

• Her family's name was Poulson.

chasing the Marigny estate; refusing to follow his sister's example, who quitted, with contempt, the arms of her father, and her husband, to exhibit those of the departed Pompadours. The Marchioness has represented herself, in this engraving, at a turning wheel, with which the engravers on gems make those convexities, on which they execute their ideas.

The King's Seat.

This next production plainly proves that the ideas of Madame de Pompadour are susceptible of the greatest amplifications. She soon extends the prerogatives of her Minerva; she is no longer the Protectress of Engraving, but the Directress of France; holding in one hand its Crown and its Escutcheon, and in the other the Sceptre with which she governs it, and which has been satirically observed "to be a Sceptre of Iron," of which, indeed, it has every appearance.

Under this engraving Madame de Pom-

padour placed these words—"The King's Seal." She actually did make a present of this stone, when engraved, to the King, who used it to seal his billets-doux. This seal bears the date of 1755, which was precisely the period of the Favorite's greatest influence over him; for in those days she governed both the Monarch and the Monarchy; and thought to influence the Cabinet of one of the greatest Potentates in Europe, that of Maria Theresa; she was the instrument of the intriguing ambition of that Princess.

Alliance between Austria and France.

Madame de Pompadour, at this period, so firmly believed that the affairs of Europe were under her direction, that she made it the subject of one of her engravings. It is known that the King of Prussia had the misfortune to incur her displeasure: the crafty Maria Theresa had the good sense to take advantage of this circumstance; and Madame de Pompadour, who had engraved a set of

gems, in 1748, to commemorate our victories over the Austrians, in favor of Prussia, now took upon herself to engrave, on other gems, the alliance concluded against the interests of our friend, the King of Prussia, with our former enemy, the Queen of Hungary. There is not a doubt but if Frederic could have insured to her the continuation of her influence, she would, in that case, have engraved a fresh set of gems in celebration of an alliance with Prussia. So well versed is Madame de Pompadour in diplomacy, and so disinterested, as a Frenchwoman, is she to the good of her country.

It is now known that the treaty entered into by France with the Queen of Hungary is definitively confined to these terms.

In the war of 1741, France exhausted herself by her efforts against Maria Theresa, whose possessions she intended to divide amongst the several Potentates of Europe. And in the seven years war, France equally

exhausted her resources, in favor of Maria Theresa, to whom she wished to restore back the countries conquered from her by the King of Prussia, in the war preceding.

A very pretty part this, that France acted, under the sway of Madame de Pompadour! France, under her influence, became the instrument of the ambition of her rival.

The alliance of 1756 is the subject of this engraving; Austria and France who never were cordial together. Austria, who has seduced France from her real interests, and France, who has not forgot the injuries she has suffered in consequence, but nevertheless had not the courage to break off the treaty, are represented as mutually giving hands in token of friendship. The torch of discord and the mask of hypocrisy are under their feet. The engraving bears the date 1756; which was the period of the first treaty en-

tered into by the two powers. The date is the only part of the engraving that has any truth to recommend it, for as to the rest, there are as many falsehoods as there are lines in the execution of it.

Genius of France in 1758.

Madame de Pompadour affects to be the invisible Genius, which presides over, and directs all the great undertakings, and the ineffable felicity of the Monarchy; in fact the Army is so absolutely under her government, that she appoints and removes all the Generals at her pleasure; and God knows what Generals they are whom she dismisses, and what Generals they are whom she appoints.

God knows what Battles she says that we gain, and what Battles we lose.

The Battle of Lutzelberg, fought on the 10th of October, 1758, where, according to her account, we had gained the vic-

tory, the English, on their part, boasted that we had lost; but then it was necessary that her protégée, the Prince of Soubise, should enjoy the credit of having gained a battle, particularly as Monsieur d'Estrée, who had opened the campaign with such success, had been disgraced.

Exclusive of which, a pretext was necessary to justify the sending to her protégée the Staff of a Marshall of France, as a reward for this victory, of which no mention was made eight days afterwards.

In this engraving Madame de Pompadour has disguised herself as a young Genius, holding a globe, on which is engraved the arms of France, and laughing to herself, like a child, at her success. It bears the date of the 10th of October, 1758.

Victory of Lutzelberg.

Annexed to the preceding, is an engraving of the Insignia of France, placed on

a column, ornamented with the palms of victory.

After such an engraving, one would be led to suppose that the interests of France had been immoveably established by the Battle of Lutzelberg.

CHAPTER IX.

Private reasons of Louis the XVth, for retaining a Favorite detested by all France.

IF it was so difficult to amuse the King; it will be asked why he should keep for such a length of time, and even to the hour of her death, a woman of this sort, whilst he dismissed his most favored Ministers ?

Those who are acquainted with the secrets of the Court, know that the King is informed of all the intrigues that exist in France against him, and of all the murmurs of the public against his reign. The King is secretly pleased that Madame de Pompadour should pass in the eyes of the public, for the sole cause of all the misfortunes of the State. It has even been asserted, that she gave the King to understand it was expedient, that all the discontents of the people should fall upon her;

mers of their own properties: Government has so multiplied, enlarged, and in so many ways augmented the taxes, and the Court at the same time so increased its expences, that the King has perhaps irrecoverably lost the love of his subjects. Melancholy and dangerous situation! for these rumours, murmurs, and complaints increase, whenever the period for paying these taxes comes round.

CHAPTER X.

Monsieur le Duc de Choiseul, and Madame de Pompadour unite interests at Court. Conformity of their views and principles. The same friends and the same enemies common to both.

MONSIEUR LE DUC DE CHOISEUL, who was so powerful, having followed the same line of conduct as Madame de Pompadour, was of course connected with the same parties at Court as herself, and shared with her the dangers of those animosities, which both the one and the other of them had excited, as well by their principles, as by their political conduct.

Both Madame de Pompadour, and Monsieur le Duc de Choiseul, equally gave their protection to the free-thinkers (Esprits Forts) of their time, and to them may be attributed

the sect of unbelievers, who before those days would not have dared to have made their dangerous opinions public. Each of them equally encouraged the secret enemies of the Jesuits, and prepared and effected the destruction of their society, which they never rested till they had succeeded in receiving in every part of Europe. Each of them adopted a code of politics, diametrically opposite to those which hitherto the House of Bourbon have been guided by, and ridiculed the most sacred maxims of Henry the IVth, of the Great Cardinal de Richelieu, of Louis the XIIIth, and of Louis the XIVth.

Each of them conspired to make the King appear a weak and insignificant Prince, with the sole exception of the decided part they made him take against Frederic the II^d., whom they succeeded in making the enemy of France. They were each of them the tools of Maria Theresa, in effecting that change of the political system, which it was so much her interest to effect.

Each of them bore the most deadly hatred to the posterity of Louis the XVth, and the Duke in particular made use of expressions, not only in conversation; but even in letters which I have seen in his own hand writing, which prove that he entertained in private a sovereign contempt for the Royal Family. —Each of them would have been equally odious to all France, as they were to more than the half of Europe, if they both had not granted pensions to their creatures, to the news-mongers, and the dangerous intriguers of the Court, and of the City, the total amount of which surpassed eleven millions. Eleven millions ! to purchase the silence, and to keep quiet the enemies of Monsieur, de Choiseul, and of Madame de Pompadour ; that is to say, every one attached to the religion of their forefathers, and to the evident policy of the House of Bourbon.

These eleven millions, however, were not equal to wholly silencing the indignation of

the public. Deep murmurings issued from every corner of France, a nation high in its ideas of honor, and better informed than any other nation in Europe of what is doing, to keep on a war (that of seven years), which covers us with disgrace.

But neither power, nor interest could calm the public indignation, occasioned by the degradation which the conduct of the Duke de Choiseul, and Madame de Pompadour has brought upon us, by forcing us into a war, of which neither the end nor the consequences can be foretold; merely for the purpose of ruining the King of Prussia, after having nearly ruined ourselves in 1741, in assisting to place him on a level with the first powers of Europe.

All that can be done or said to palliate the actual situation of the Monarchy, and the factions of Monsieur de Choiseul, and of Madame de Pompadour; will only tend to increase the just resentment excited by their

coalition, exclusive of which they have each of them, in the Dukes of Richelieu and Arguillon, two active and inveterate enemies, who will take advantage of every opportunity to ruin them, and who are secretly attached to His Royal Highness the Dauphin.

CHAPTER XI.

Original source of the hatred between the Dukes of Choiseul and Aiguillon. They take part in the intestine divisions of the State.

THERE are few persons who know the cause of these dangerous disputes ; their commencement may be reckoned from the fatal period of the attempt to assassinate Louis the XVth ; a period which even yet has not ceased giving uneasiness to the State.

Monsieur d'Aiguillon who was at his government, hastened to make his appearance at Versailles, and took his seat in Parliament, to sit in judgment in his quality of Peer, on the assassin, and to make himself conspicuous, and to form a party at Court.

Monsieur le Duc de Choiseul, at that time Comte de Stainville, had quitted Rome, and was at Venice when the news reached him ;

he immediately posted to Paris to take advantage of the accident ; and was indebted for his advancement to the Favorite, whose power, from the day of the attempt on the King's life, was in danger at Versailles.

The Duke and the Count being both in the palace, were the first to express opinions the most dangerous for two courtiers to entertain.

The Duke openly declared with that tone which was so peculiar to him, " That the fanaticism of the hot-headed zealots of the Parliament had armed the hand of the assassin, and that there were proofs enough of the truth of what he asserted."

The Count replied, " That he brought from Rome, proofs of a quite contrary nature; he maintained that the Jesuits, and particularly the Jesuits of Silesia, were no strangers to the transaction."

The first paid his court indirectly to the

Dauphin by his assertion, and the second to the Favorite, who had just declared war against Frederic.

The Duc d'Aiguillon is the friend of His Royal Highness the Dauphin ; and the Comte de Stainville has resolved to strengthen himself by the support of the Favorite, and the Parliaments to forward his advancement and to establish his power.

The opposite system of these two ambitious men began, and will complete the destruction of the Monarchy.

CHAPTER XII.

Anecdotes relative to the superseding of the Maréchal d'Estrée, and the choice made of the Maréchal de Richelieu, to command the Army in Germany. Disgrace of Messieurs Muchault, and D'Argenson. Exile of the Archbishop of Paris, and of the Parliaments. Divisions in the State. Neutrality of Louis the XVth, and its consequences.

THE Marshal de Richelieu, and Madame de Pompadour, mutually detested each other, and made no secret of so doing; Madame de Pompadour hated this courtier, because by devoting himself solely to the amusing of the King, he had succeeded, as she had done, in insinuating himself into his good graces, and had become his favorite. Nevertheless the reflection that they mutually had it in their powers either materially to injure, or to serve each other, induced them finally to adopt an ap-

pearance of regard, and even of reciprocal friendship.

This union of interests had subsisted for some time, when hatred on one hand, and envy on the other, brought them into a much closer alliance. The Marshal d'Estrées, was the unfortunate object of this hatred ; and this envy, the result of which was the recall of the General at the very moment when he was occupied in planning a victory, which he soon afterwards saw crowned with the most brilliant success. Such were the causes of the disgrace of Monsieur d'Estrées.

The Marshal de Richelieu, who succeeded him in the command of the Army, lost what his predecessor had gained in less time than had been taken in effecting the conquest.*

* Marshal de Richelieu pursued the enemy with much vigour and success to Stade, where he obliged them to lay down their arms ; and if he had not changed his military convention into a diplomatic convention, which was every way against our interest to accede to, he would have annihilated a whole army without shedding a drop of blood, and forced it to surrender as prisoners of war, or be driven into the sea.

It was universally reported, that this last Commander-in-Chief, out of gratitude for the service which Madame de Pompadour had rendered him, sought to recompense his benefactress in a mode as gratifying to her avarice, as the recel of Monsieur d'Estrée had been to her revenge. This recompense consisted in shutting his eyes to the infamous traffic she carried on by the sale of all the offices in the commissariat. It was by her, that all the intendants, the clerks, and in general every one employed in this department, were nominated; and she was sure to give the preference to those who bid highest, without taking the trouble of enquiring whether they were the best calculated for the office they were to fill. But to continue; it should be mentioned, that after being deprived of the command of the army in Germany, the reception of Marshal d'Estrée at Court was the most gracious on the part of the King, who could not refrain from doing that justice, which his services merited. The Prince gave him to understand he should be much gratified by his going to pay a visit to Madame de Pompadour. The

Marshal accordingly waited on her, and she threw into her countenance every thing that softness the most captivating, and hypocrisy the most deceitful, could combine. Marshal d'Estrée, in approaching her, made her a low bow, and said to her as follows :—" It is by the desire of His Majesty, I come to pay my respects to you ; I am perfectly aware of the sentiments you entertain for me, but I have too firm a reliance on the justice of the King, my Master, to think it necessary to dread their consequences." He had no sooner uttered these words, than, without waiting for an answer, Marshal d'Estrée quitted the room. Never was Madame de Pompadour in so embarrassed a situation ; the military tone of the General quite confounded her ; and to revenge herself, she was obliged to invent all those disagreeable calumnies, which since that time have been disseminated amongst the public.

The sacrifice of Marshal d'Estrée at so critical a juncture, had been preceded by that of one of His Majesty's principal Ministers. I allude to Monsieur d'Argenson, another victim

of the evil genius, which presided over every measure of the Court. I have reserved for the present moment the recital of what passed in the Palace, and at the Favorite's, at the time of the attempt of Damiens on the King. The greatest consternation prevailed; the King thought himself mortally wounded, the Holy Sacrament was exposed at Paris, and at Versailles. The King, who was converted in 1744 at Metz, again became a convert the day of the attempt on him, and also the day after. It will readily be imagined, that Madame de Pompadour did not fail in hastening to the King, and proving to him by her tears, the tender attachment she bore him. But all the persons of character, and all the clergy by whom the Prince was surrounded, joined in denying her admission; he was confided solely to the care and the tenderness of his family; and Monsieur d'Argenson the Minister, seizing this opportunity of gratifying his hatred towards Madame de Pompadour, particularly distinguished himself amongst those who denied her admission, when she had the presump-

tion to present herself at the door of the King's apartment.

The triumph of the clergy and the minister was of no long duration. Madame de Pompadour, furious at not being permitted to play her part, thought of nothing but revenging, if possible, the affront which had been so daringly shewn her. The wound proving very different from what it was at first thought to be, all anxiety as to its consequences, was at an end from the very next evening; at the expiration of two or three days, the King, who was almost recovered, became visible, and as in 1744, recommenced his usual course of life. One of the first visits he paid was to Madame de Pompadour: she received him in a manner best calculated to inspire pity; her eyes swollen, her face bathed in tears, all bespoke a degree of distress, which could not fail to produce the effect that she had in view.

After having again and again congratulated him on his happy recovery, she launched out in the bitterest complaints on the treatment

she had received, and concluded by saying, "That since she was denied access to him at, a time when her duty necessarily required her to be near him, and when he had the most occasion for her services, she should be obliged to withdraw herself, to deprive her enemies of the cruel gratification of wounding her feelings again, as they had already done."

This threat of withdrawing herself, (a threat which she takes very good care not to make, but when she is certain of not being taken at her word,) had all the desired effect on the mind of the King. He determined on giving her the most ample satisfaction, and to grant her that which she could not have presumed to think of asking. He began by exiling the too conscientious Bishop, with three or four of those courtiers, who had been the most active in refusing her admission to him. Monsieur d'Argenson was disgraced, and obliged to give in his resignation. It was supposed that in nominating Monsieur Paulmy d'Argenson his nephew, as his successor, the king wished to render his disgrace the

less mortifying; but this was by no means the case. The nephew was a very different man to the uncle. The respectful conduct which Monsieur de Paulmy had always pursued towards Madame de Pompadour, had made him a favorite with the King; whilst the uncle, on the contrary, made no kind of scruple in declaring the contempt in which he held her.

She was only waiting for an opportunity of making him feel the weight of her resentment, and never could one have presented itself more favorable than the present.

Monsieur de Paulmy d'Argenson did not long occupy his uncle's place; he also has been dismissed, through a combination of circumstances, for having shewn rather too much zeal in seconding the hatred of Madame de Pompadour against Monsieur d'Estrée; even his being a favorite could not save him: so true is it, that when things have once taken a bad turn at Court, the favor of the most powerful is no longer of any utility: this

will ever be the case when every thing is regulated by the caprice of a woman such as this famous Marchioness. To oppose her plans, or to contradict her, is the sure way of falling into disgrace ; implicitly to follow her directions is still attended with the same risk, because the consequences of an action are always attributed to those who did it, and scarcely ever to those by whose orders it was done.

Such was actually the case of young Paulmy d'Argenson, who owed his disgrace to his too ready obedience. Aided by Monsieur Rovillier, he carried his complaisance to Madame de Pompadour so far, as to side with Monsieur de Maillebois against the Maréchal d'Estrée. The Marshal having justified his conduct in the manner he did, it became necessary to sacrifice them both to the clamours, and the vengeance of the public, which, in these cases, often gives the law to the most arbitrary governments, in forcing them to temporize and to keep within those limits

which, in this instance, it prescribed to the King.

But what has caused more general astonishment is, that Monsieur de Machault, the Keeper of the Seals, was dismissed from his situation at the same time, and on the same day as the elder d'Argenson. He was at the head of a party who were in opposition to that Minister, and was universally known to be attached to the interests of Madame de Pompadour: it is true that he displayed some warmth in the representations that he made on the subject of the excessive expences which attended the King's private suppers, and to which had been added those of the department of his pleasures. These expences he wished to be diminished, or that they should be limited to a certain sum, which should on no account be exceeded; but so flimsy a pretext for his dismissal, as that of having displeased the King and the Pompadour, or rather *the Pompadour and the King*, by the freedom of his remonstrances, would have given him but little pain, if there had not ap-

peared a certain air of mystery in the business, which shewed that the motives of the Court were well known.

Those who find more pleasure in investigating matters, than in cursorily skimming over their surface, fancied they saw proofs, in this disgrace of the two opposite parties, of that refined policy which Madame de Pompadour has ever been remarked for. I shall enter into some of the particulars of the private motives which actuated Madame de Pompadour, in thus dismissing, Monsieur de Machault, her favorite minister and Monsieur d'Argenson, her avowed enemy.

The public are not unacquainted with the quarrels of the Clergy and the Parliament, relative to their respective rights and privileges. The Clergy pretend to have the right of refusing the Communion to the dying; and the Parliament pretend that they

have the right of ordering the Clergy to administer it.

This dispute has given rise to some very indecent and scandalous scenes, and has occasioned the King the greatest anxiety. The Clergy refuse to acknowledge the King as competent to decide the matter ; and the Parliament look on the conduct of the Clergy, as rebelling against the laws. What conduct is the King to adopt under these circumstances ? If he were to side with the Clergy, the Parliament, in losing this cause, would raise difficulties of a still more perplexing nature. If he were to side with the Parliament, then the Clergy would stir up the spirit of fanaticism in the people ; and if the people should refuse to be made the tool of the Clergy against the Parliament, the cause of Religion would suffer, which is what the Court wishes to avoid. There were in this quarrel four parties to be attended to ; the King, the Clergy, the Parliament, and the Populace—the eternal instrument of every one who will either pay, or inflame it.

The alternative was alarming, and the choice of a medium by no means easy. The King was in the most cruel perplexity, and it was Madame de Pompadour who had the address to cut, what she called, the Gordian knot. She advised the Prince to remain neuter, without giving his decision in favor of either party, but to reserve to himself till he should think proper, the opportunity of deciding in favor of the one or the other, as circumstances might direct: that the King, in the mean time, should leave to the Clergy, and the Parliament, to settle matters as they could, by way of an amusement, which seemed highly gratifying to them.

It was in consequence of these resolutions, that both the Parliament and the Archbishop of Paris were exiled, in 1757; the one to one place, and the other to another; which gave the King an air of impartiality, that had a very remarkable effect. Monsieur d'Argenson, who was at the head of the party attached to the Clergy at Court, and Monsieur de Machault, the chief of the opposite

party, and who was in favor of the Parliament, were also dismissed. Monsieur de Machault (since the publication of his famous edict, which forbade all Ecclesiastics purchasing landed property,) had become odious to the first order of the State, and consequently had risen highly in favor with the Parliament, who were using every effort to effect the humiliation of the Clergy ; and as the Clergy were the deadly enemies of Madame de Pompadour, Monsieur de Machault became in her eyes a most faithful servant, in whom she could place the most unlimited confidence. Monsieur de Argenson, by the spirit of contradiction, was, in those times of discord, the chief of the opposite party at Court : and as both of them were accused, as it was said, of fighting in the Council, with the Clergy and the Parliament as their weapons, the necessary result of the system of Madame de Pompadour was the dismissal of them both. She did not feel the smallest repugnance at sacrificing her friend Monsieur Machault, so that she could but enjoy the pleasure of

gratifying her revenge by ruining Monsieur d'Argenson, her enemy ; for there was no retaining one of these parties at Court, without retaining the other also, as otherwise the system of neutrality, to which every thing was sacrificed, would have been at an end.

The different treatment that these two ministers received, plainly proved the wide difference that existed in the motives which led to their dismissal. Monsieur de Argenson's dismissal was unaccompanied by any of those marks of kindness, which in some measure serve to soften the rigor of disgrace. His misfortune excited no great pity, for, exclusive of very austere and forbidding manners, he was naturally very unfeeling, and he was noted for being one of the most zealous supporters of arbitrary power ; therefore few persons were sorry to see him suffer a reverse of fortune, although it was known he hated Madame de Pompadour.

Monsieur de Machault, on the contrary, retired with a considerable pension, and he

was complimented with what are called the military honours (*les honneurs militaires*).

As he had much more probity than his rival, he was more pitied; and the protection he had always afforded to the Parliament, served to do away those reflections to which, otherwise, his extreme complaisance to the Mistress of the King might have made him liable.

It was the general opinion, as we have already remarked, that on this occasion the King was influenced by the advice of Madame de Pompadour; and this opinion was followed by those consequences which might naturally be expected; namely, that she became the object of detestation to both parties; each of whom were convinced that she had made them both the tools of her ambition, without ever having entertained more partiality for the one than for the other. Those unconnected with either party, and those who for the most part were attached to their King and their Country, were dissatisfied with the plan which had been adopted; as

this system of neutrality seemed more to savour of the cunning of an artful woman, than of the firm prudence of a Monarch. The contrivance in itself was plausible, and not ill calculated to answer the end proposed, of keeping the people neuter, whom both the Clergy and the Parliament mutually wished to interest in their behalf; but further than that, it was looked on as a dangerous palliative, which, far from radically curing the evil, only served to keep it in a state of perpetual and secret fermentation, which would soon cause it to break out afresh, even with more violence than it had done at first.* Exclusive of which, it seemed disgraceful to the King to have neglected, from interested motives, the reconciling of the different parties, which was an object of the very first consequence, if the happiness of the people had been as dear to him as their money.

To speak frankly on the subject, as is our duty, this conduct was only fit for a subaltern

* Pretext of a revolution. (Note of the Editor)

agent, who goes about sowing petty differences, and hatreds, only to take advantage of them.

In these circumstances, all ranks and classes of people united in detesting Madame de Pompadour; and the Parisians, especially, never let slip an occasion of manifesting towards her the most marked proofs of their hatred; whenever she went to Paris, the populace crowded by hundreds round her carriage, and loaded her with abuse and reproaches; and to such a pitch was this carried, that of late years, she had not dared to make her appearance there, unless incognito.

The Provinces followed the example of the Capital, and she became an object of detestation to the whole nation.

The people are never fond of the Mistresses of their Kings; they imagine that the exalted rank they are placed in, makes it an inviolable duty in them to pay the greatest attention to decency and to propriety, and that they are wholly inexcusable in setting a bad example;

and therefore it is, that when the King and the Princes give cause for scandal at Court, the murmurs of the people necessarily break out, and all the bitterness of their discontent falls on the person whom they consider as the cause of having led them astray.

Frenchmen however do not expect, nor perhaps would they wish it, that their Monarchs should be insensible to gallantry. A Frenchman was never a Jansenist by nature, but his opinion and wish are, that this gallantry should be confined within proper bounds, and that it should neither offend the laws of decency, nor the national prejudices; and if these precautions are neglected, the people decide on their character in a manner which becomes the torment of those Kings who have either mind or feeling. And indeed it may fairly be said, that in this public opinion consists the safety of public morals, which have no enemies so dangerous as the vices of those belonging to the Court, which always lead the way to the ruin and degradation of nations.

Exclusive of this general motive for the hatred of the people, there were many others which exasperated them against the Marchioness ;—the lowness of her origin ; a married woman taken by force from her husband, in open violation of a right which has ever been held sacred amongst civilized nations. The subsequent consent, whether tacit or extorted, of her husband, did not do away the crime ; it rather went to prove the abuse of arbitrary power or of its artifices ; and yet it must be mentioned, that a just estimate may be formed of our modern manners, by knowing that many of the courtiers condemned the King's conduct on this occasion, only because he had not taken away their wives from them.

It was also with great displeasure observed, that the Queen and Mesdames of France, were obliged to be satisfied with a fixed allowance, although proportioned to their rank ; whilst the Marchioness rolled in scandalous luxury and immense riches, and whilst she could dispose as she pleased, of the favors of the King, and the treasures of the State.

and it was grievous to reflect on the state of servile dependence, which all who wished for promotion, were reduced to.

The most able ministers, the greatest generals of the Army, were either in a state of abject dependence and submission to her, or unjustly sacrificed to her vanity and her vengeance; and she who had been so scandalously and so disgustingly elevated from the dregs of the people, proved by her conduct, that she continually mistook the art of governing the King, for that of governing the Kingdom.

But one of the most serious charges that could be alledged against her, was the unheard-of traffic she carried on of selling the offices of the State, the produce of which she converted to her own use. This traffic had a natural tendency to degrade the nation, which by this means had a set of men in its service, who were solely occupied with making as much as possible of their purchases. She had already ruined the Kingdom in a wholesale way, by a bad administration, and she sold

it every day by retail to the highest bidder. She took it in her head to purchase the Principality of Neufchatel, (one of the states of Switzerland,) from the King of Prussia : negotiations on this subject were entered into, persevered in, and concluded, and the money paid to that Monarch, at the very time he was at war with France ; which could only be looked on as a species of high treason, if there had not been a stipulation that the contract should be made public, as soon as circumstances should permit. The deeds and the actual documents are wanting legally to substantiate this accusation ; but be that as it may, the motive of Madame de Pompadour in concluding this purchase was well known ; for, aware of the hatred she had brought on herself, and the danger to which she should be exposed, if the King should die before her, and leave her at the mercy of her numerous and powerful enemies, and of that of his son, she took the prudent precaution to ensure herself a safe asylum.

Her intention is to take flight at the first certainty of the King's malady being of a

dangerous nature, and to retire into a dominion of her own; but who knows, as she has no children, nor any hopes of having any, whether she may not be desirous of following the example of Flora; and whether she has not already formed the resolution of imitating this celebrated Roman matron, in securing a province to France, which it will be in her power to bequeath to that country at her death? Madame de Pompadour knows what the famous Madame des Ursins attempted, on a similar occasion.

However, though ambition and craftiness form the most leading traits in her character, yet it must not be imagined but that, amongst her bad qualities, she has some virtues; as it can scarcely be imagined she could have arrived at such an elevation without some merit, some good quality, that served to counterbalance and to chide her bad ones, and contributed to her advancement.

In the first place, it is incontestable that in spite of all her industry in furnishing subjects for scandal, yet none of those gross

gallantries, which the very title of the King's Mistress leads one to suspect, and with which perhaps this history was expected to abound, can be imputed to her : for truth carries with it too lively and sublime a pleasure, not to afford consolation for any disappointment that may be met with on this score. Excepting her connexion with the King, no slur was ever cast on her virtue; but she is not the more estimable for that. She may, it is true, make a boast of it before her lover, but the world will not hold her in higher esteem on that account. It is well known that this chastity is neither owing to natural insensibility, nor to the fears of the consequences of a libertine life, but solely to the passion of interest, of which she was the slave.

This passion had such complete dominion over her, that she was become insensible to the emotions of love, and disqualified even for that gallantry which is so often mistaken for love, whose name it so unjustly assumes. There are, however, affections over which nature, that powerful mother of both, has an

empire far more arbitrary than the guilty passions which are the consequences of either. She would have had some excuse, if she could have defended herself under the pretext of loving the King; but he, perhaps, is the only one who does her the honor to believe her capable of love, or of loving any one but herself; nor can it be argued that a few transitory connexions, the offspring of caprice, circumstance, or policy, are sufficient to contradict this assertion. I have written a particular account of these connexions, comprised in fifty pages only, under the title of "*Intrigues of the Court of Peking*;" and whoever reads that work, will know it to be from my pen

CHAPTER XIII.

Other anecdotes relative to the Favorite, and the Archbishop of Paris. Noble character of this Prelate.

THE deadly animosity with which the different parties were animated, in the circumstances from which we are emerging (in 1787) is not to be wondered at. Louis the XVth received a letter, half-unsealed, which informed him that the Arch-Bishop of Paris had been accessory to the attempt of Damiens on his life. This letter had been addressed by a Parisian to another Parisian, and it had been imperfectly sealed on purpose to excite curiosity at the post-office, from whence it was sent direct to Louis the XVth. He is in the habits of receiving, at stated periods, remarks and extracts from every letter which, when opened at the post-office, can afford him any

remarkable information, and this letter was found with the seal quite open.

Louis the XVth was furious, not against the Arch-Bishop, but against his enemies, for he has too exalted an opinion of the prelate to believe him capable of a crime of the nature which is imputed to him, and therefore, instead of paying the least attention to the letter, he sent the original himself to Monsieur de Beaumont, with a letter in his own hand-writing, in which he tells him, "*That it is his wish to give him a fresh proof of his esteem, in sending him a letter which had fallen into his hands, and which attacked his character, of which he had never entertained, for one moment, a doubt.*"

The Arch-Bishop was thunderstruck on receiving this letter; he was not ignorant of the strange reports which the enemies of the Jesuits had spread abroad; he was the open protector of that society, and it was to them that the attempt of *Damiens* was attributed. He, however, instantly set out for Versailles,

to return his thanks to Louis the XVth. Being shewn into the King's apartment, he was about to throw himself at his feet, and to burst into tears, when the King raising him up, said to him, "Monsieur Arch-Bishop, learn to know your enemies, and endeavour to turn their hearts by mildness and goodness: your good qualities are quite equal to it; you have my warmest esteem, and I have the highest opinion of you." After having said this, the King left him. It is from the Arch-Bishop himself that I had these facts, and his word is to be depended on.

The enemies of Madamé de Pompadour, on their side, did not fail to embrace so favorable an opportunity of raising up new sources of vexation to her, whose invention is so dangerous and so fertile when her influence and her credit are at stake. The Arch-Bishop therefore was persuaded and led to believe that Madame de Pompadour, by whom he knew he was detested, had maliciously invented and conjured up every thing which had a reference to this letter. Monsieur de

Beaumont, who should have published his mandatory letter relative to the preservation of the King from the attempt made on him by Damiens, a few days after the 5th of January, 1757, the day of the accident, did not publish it till the beginning of March following, when it made its appearance with the imprudent allusions I am now going to mention.

The prelate began by representing Louis the XVth as the last issue of the posterity of Louis the XIVth, preserved by Providence at a juncture when the French nation had witnessed the extinction of the rest of the royal family. He pourtrayed the young Monarch as virtuous, timid, and reserved in his youth; deeply impressed with the fear of God in his sicknesses, and calling on the ministry of the church to aid in his salvation. Monsieur de Beaumont draws an afflicting and feeling portrait of the disposition of the Prince when dying at Mentz; but in speaking of the cause of the attack on his life by Damiens, he attributes it "*to the errors of the times, and to*

the cause given for scandal BY PERSONS IN ALL RANKS AND IN ALL CLASSES, and to the introducing, by writings and inflammatory discourse, PRINCIPLES which tended to excite his subjects to acts of disobedience and rebellion against the Sovereign." The Jansenists attributed the assassination to the Arch-Bishop's party, and he attributed it to the new philosophy and the party of Madame de Pompadour. He concludes his mandatory letter by formally declaring, that the justice of God had suffered a monster to be produced, who dishonored the age, and plunged the nation into despair; and to crown the whole, the Arch-Bishop carried his imprudence so far after these assertions, as to say, "that this attempt on the King's life was the offspring of *treason*, and that it was premeditatedly planned in his own palace."

It was maliciously insinuated to Madame de Pompadour, that the Arch-Bishop of Paris intended, by these allusions, to accuse the opposite party of being the cause of the crime of Damiens, and to attribute it more parti-

cularly to her contempt for religion, and to the principles of independence, of which she was the avowed protectress. Besides she could not pardon the Arch-Bishop for daring to address the King, who was already alarmed, in such affecting, persuasive, and religious language, for the purpose of endeavouring to awaken him to repentance. The King had a great esteem for his Arch-Bishop; and she was therefore afraid that the mandatory letter afforded sufficient reasons for his dismissal, and in fact that was the idea the favorite entertained of the influence it would have on the King's mind; who fundamentally was inclined, and had never ceased to shew proofs of an inclination to repentance.

It was in consequence of all these circumstances, that Madame de Pompadour obtained a promise from the King that he would banish the Arch-Bishop of Paris, and she took her measures so well that the weak and credulous Prince put his promise into execution. The King, however, sent Monsieur de Richelieu, who was a warm friend of the Prelate's,

to him to prevail on him to yield a little for the sake of peace, at the moment when he was the most determined on the subject of the celebrated certificates of confession, which he required of the dying, before the viaticum could be administered to them. I have proof that on this occasion the inflexible Prelate gave for answer to Monsieur de Richelieu, "Let them erect a scaffold in the centre of my court yard, and I will ascend it in support of my privileges, in the execution of my duties, and in obedience to the dictates of my conscience."

The Prelate was so enthusiastic, that he would have abided by his assertion.

The Marshal replied to him, by a *bon-mot*, which he took care to give publicity to, and told him, "That his conscience could only be compared to a dark *lanthorn*, for it enlightened no one but himself;" but the Prelate became still more inflexible, and Monsieur de Richelieu related what had passed to the King, who had entertained great hopes

from the mediation of this courtier, who was naturally very clever in negotiations of this sort.

From that moment Louis the XVth abandoned the Prelate to the mercy of his council, which Madame de Pompadour had individually gained over to banish him; and previous to this measure being adopted, he had a private and mild notice given him, that it was the intention of the King to send him into exile, but the *lettre-de-cachet*, by which the opposite party were exiled, was written in the stile of disgrace, and was expressive of the King's great displeasure. By this it will be seen how contemptible this woman was, in matters of business, and also what an influence her narrow-minded passions had on the greatest operations of the State, as well as the crimes she was guilty of in the preservation of her authority.

It is the first time (the time of the Regency excepted) that in France the friends of

the State are treated as its enemies. I have heard it whispered, that it is not by a punishment of this kind that the ridiculous and unjust pretensions of the Prelate, in refusing the sacraments to the dying, should have been opposed. The King by treating in the same manner the Magistracy, untractable by profession, by principles, and by sentiments, and the Arch-Bishop, who at all times was the most devoted of his servants, committed a great error, which will not be easily remedied, for he has, by so doing, placed on the same footing, against himself, his friends and his enemies.

The Prelate and the Magistrates have since been recalled, but Monsieur de Choiseul and Madame de Pompadour had both resolved on the destruction of the Jesuits, and to ruin them they recalled and restored the Parliaments, which had been degraded and sent into exile.

The Jesuits being crushed, dissolved and

exiled in their turn, found friends who employed Messieurs Maupeou and Terray to annihilate the Parliaments, and Monsieur de Choiseul.

The Parliaments, in their distress, will find, no doubt, in their turn, other powerful supporters, who will obtain their recal; and it will be seen, if that happens, that they will amply revenge themselves—sad consequences of the short-sighted policy of Madame de Pompadour, who treated the friends as well as the enemies of the State in the same manner; or rather the sad result of the elevation of this mischievous grisette to the side of a great Monarch, whom she prevailed on to espouse her interests, and to sign, through the medium of Ministers whom she either brought into office, or sent into exile at her pleasure, those measures which were dictated to him by the narrow-minded views of a little bourgeoisie of the capital. It is the Clergy who unmasked the designs of the Favorite, and who first

made them known, and hence arose those heart-burnings, and the deadly animosities of these enemies, whom Madame de Pompadour had stirred up against them, at the Court of Louis the XVth.

CHAPTER XIV.

*A fresh Anecdote of the Marquis de Souvré.
The King speculates deeply in the corn trade.
The behaviour of the Parisians at this juncture.
Madame de Pompadour endeavours to
destroy our Silk Manufactures.*

THE most serious mischief occasioned by the influence of the Marchioness, is the absolute dependence that all the Ministers are kept in by her; it is through her they are chosen, promoted, or dismissed, according to her caprice; and it will be readily imagined, when the authority emanates from so vile a source, how many measures must be adopted, injurious to the interests of the State. This woman is held in detestation by all the Body Politic; the Clergy, particularly, see with horror, a concubine at the head of affairs, who aspires to appropriate to herself all the promotions in the church. The Nobility, who alone are

held in high consideration in France, whilst filling the first offices of the state, can only obtain them through her channel ; and she has the character of selling all employments, commissions, and places. The King, who feels all the weight of his chain, remains silent ; he sees his finances deranged, he sees them abandoned to pillage, and he signs arbitrary drafts in favor of the Marchioness, for a hundred thousand crowns, for five hundred thousand livres, with the same indifference as we should expend a louis-d'or, or a pistole in our ordinary house-expences.

The King himself, however, lately ordered a very singular petition to be presented to him on his return from hunting, when in a phaeton with Madame de Pompadour. In this petition a speculator requests of the King, by way of encouraging a manufactory which he wishes to establish in the name of the State, that Madame de Pompadour should lend one hundred and fifty millions to the King, to enable him to carry this great and royal enterprize to perfection ; the King smiled, and Madame de Pompadour gave signs of great vexation. Since

this singular circumstance, she has increased the number of young creatures round his person, who are all so well tutored, that they are expressly forbidden to tell him any thing, but what she wishes him to be acquainted with. No longer can any truth, unpleasant to the Prince, reach his ear, but by some out-of-the-way channel; the Court, one day, witnessed an instance of this, that afforded no small diversion.

Some time before the death of the Marchioness, the King went to Paris, contrary to his usual practice, for he has taken a violent antipathy to this good City, on account of the insults which it has offered to Madame de Pompadour, who is detested there; the mob, on that day, still followed the carriage of the King, but in a very different manner to what they had ever before done. They no longer shouted, "God save the King;" but the air rang with these distressing cries, "BREAD, Sirs, BREAD!" The guard was not equal to dispersing them, for the enraged mob obliged it to fall back.

The King, on his return to Versailles, stung to the quick, was musing on this reception with a mixture of anger and sadness; for he knows himself to be suspected of being at the head of a corn-speculation, the profits of which he appropriates to his private use, and it was at this moment, that a creature of the Marchionesses broke silence, and told the King, that he was very much surprized at the want of reason, as well as justice, in the cries of the people for bread, when they were seated at market, on immense heaps of wheat; he also added, that bread was at a very moderate price.

The brave Marquis de Souvré could not hear such a violation of truth with indifference; he took his gloves and his hat, and seemed quite in a hurry to get to the door. "Where are you going?" said the King. "Sire," replied Souvré, "if you will permit me, I am going to hang my scoundrel of a Maître d'Hotel, who makes me pay double the price for bread, which this honest man tells you it is sold at." This answer, which made every one

laugh, who heard it, could not arrest the attention of the Prince.

It will be seen by this time, that if Madame de Pompadour's success at Court was great, as the Mistress of the King; yet she was far from succeeding in the character of a *Stateswoman*. In our time, however, we have had the spectacle of two empires, excellently governed by several women; Russia by the two Catherines-Anne and by Elizabeth; and Germany by Maria-Theresa. Madame de Pompadour is perfectly ignorant of the art of governing, or of choosing those who are capable of governing; for when a situation in the government, of any sort, is to be filled up, it is precisely the most improper person, for the misfortune of the Kingdom, that she has the art of selecting.

She has been justly reproached with having done all in her power to destroy our silk manufactures. The Southern Provinces, particularly those on the banks of the Rhone, are only enabled to pay their taxes by the

produce of their silks ; these silks go to Lyons, and give animation to the commerce of France. All the Courts of Europe, and all the nobility of the universe, make use of these rich and superb manufactures of Lyons, for the purpose of full dress ; but some English noblemen, on their travels through France, having been introduced to her, made her a present of some of the finest India chintzes, and made her believe that she looked much handsomer and much younger when she was dressed in them in *negligés*. Madame de Pompadour, therefore, wears no longer any thing but chintz *negligés* ; it is no longer our French manufactures that Madame de Pompadour is dressed in ; the mode which emanates from her *boudoirs* must therefore operate in crushing our industry, and destroying our arts, even in our most distant provinces.

What then is become of the Ministers of Louis the XIVth,—of that King so proud of his royal and unique manufactures, established by Colbert ? The English presumed to send us their Indian stuffs ; the King had them all

confiscated : he went further, he sent them to the public executioner, with orders to dress himself in them : and all those ladies who were before in the habit of wearing them, desisted through fear of the King's displeasure.

The financiers and the middle ranks of *bourgeoise* felt a secret pleasure in seeing a little *grisette* seated by the side of the King ; but her affectation of dressing herself in this manner, in her *negligé* of foreign fabric, and above all of English manufacture, deprived her of the esteem of all the French artisans, who now speak of this famous woman as every one else speaks of her. However, it is but doing her justice, to say that she does not love the English, and particularly the arrogance of their ambassadors ; who affect to treat her with hauteur, and behave to her as they would to a clerk in the Foreign Department : at which Louis the XVth is quite distressed.

CHAPTER XV.

Daily precautions both of the Government and the Police of Paris, for the safety of Madame de Pompadour.

IT will hardly be conceived what pains were taken, and what precautions used by the Government, to preserve this woman from the insults of the populace of Paris; but why do I confine myself to the populace? I ought rather to say, of the better kinds of *bourgeoise*, and of every individual at Paris, and throughout France.

The Pit of our play-houses at Paris, is a sort of *chambre basse*, House of Commons, like that of London; if this *chambre basse* (lower house) had but the liberty of speech! had but the right of remonstrating! But alas! it has only its hands, which are all it possesses, and it used them in applauses, which are often very severe lessons; for the Pit, in withholding,

or in granting them *mal à propos*, dispenses its censure or its applause with a great deal of well-timed equity. What a nation! which can make itself understood by granting, or refusing, or by affected and ironical applauses.

Madame de Pompadour went to the Opera in 1750, and had then a pretty good specimen of the opinion which the public entertained of her.

Opposite to her was her husband Monsieur le Normant d'Etioles; and it will not be difficult to imagine which of the two was most applauded, the King's Favorite, or the cuckold. It was not she, who every day saw at her feet crowds of Nobles, Prelates, Ambassadors, Generals, and that suite of Ministers whom she promoted or discarded at pleasure; but it was the good man d'Etioles who was the object of the most rapturous applause. Ah! the dear good man! how he was put out of countenance by it; I watched his every motion, and kept my eye fixed on him on this occasion; he turned pale, he blushed, and changed colour

at a reception which he had no right to have expected.

As the Marchioness's box was on the same side of the house as that I sat in, and as no one dared to lean forward to look at her, I questioned several persons who sat on the opposite side to her, and who could notice all her motions.

Madame de Pompadour supported the scene with the most brazen assurance ; all that could be remarked extraordinary in her conduct was ; that she bit her upper lip, and continued to do so for a long time—she bore the insult in the same manner as she would have endured a fine harangue, or a prolix tale of flattery.

Since that time, Madame de Pompadour never fails to inform her husband that she intends going to such a play, to such a concert, or to such a place : which is a sort of tacit order for him not to go there at the same time ; to prevent a repetition of a scene of the nature already described. The good man d'Etiolles submits to all this for the sake of Louis the XVth ;

but when he wishes his wife to employ her interest in any particular matter, (which is extremely rare, and always in a just cause, or when he wishes to prevent her from doing any thing improper, or contrary to the interests of the family,) he says to the Abbé Bayle, who goes between them, " Tell my wife, that I will go to the Palace ; that I am resolved to do so ; and that I will make the very roof resound with the equity of what I demand and require."

After which it is the Prince de Soubise who sets every thing right.

Poor d'Etiolles was at a loss, at first, to know how he should address her.

Mademoiselle *Poisson* ! She was his lawful wife ; he had a child by her ; and she was not a Miss, although she was no longer his wife.

Madame d'*Etiolles* ! She had, at the beginning of her communication with the King, punished a thoughtless person who had neglected to call her by her new title.

My wife? This title was kept in reserve by Monsieur le Normant d'Etiolles, to be used by way of a threat. She wished one day to get from him a superb picture of herself, by Latour, which was still in his possession. "Go tell my wife to come and take it away herself," was his message by the Abbé Bayle.

CHAPTER XVI.

Debates between the Duke de Choiseul and Madame de Pompadour respecting the precedence between the Kings of France and England. Anecdotes relative to the Peace of 1763. Our Cabinet permits the King of England to take from the King his title of King of France, to assume it to himself, and give him in exchange that of "The most Christian King."

THE Abbé Bayle has related to me several very curious anecdotes, respecting the interior of the Court, particularly of the King, Madame the Marchioness de Pompadour, and the Duke of Choiseul; and it is to him I am indebted for the greatest part of those inserted in this collection.

The peace, so long-looked for, and so much desired, between Louis and the King of England, was signed not long since; and if the

Abbé had not communicated to me what I am now about to relate, I am almost sure Madame de Pompadour would have informed me of it herself.

It is impossible to imagine the haughty and arrogant tone that our Cabinet permitted the King of England to assume; Monsieur le Duc de Bedford, disputed even to the nearest trifle, on both the ceremonials to be observed, as well as the titles to be used, and to such a length did he carry his pretensions, that it is not Louis the XVth who in the Treaty is styled King of France, but it is the King of England—never was there any thing so incomprehensible or so inconsistent. Louis the XVth is only styled “Most Christian King,” whilst, amongst his other titles, the King of England assumes to himself an accumulation of titles of King of different crowns out of his own dominions.

Madame de Pompadour was furious against Monsieur de Choiseul, for suffering such an oversight, or such presumption in an

act of such solemnity. She told him, the Treaty degraded both the King and the French Monarchy, and that the title of King of France ought to be wrested from the English by the point of the sword, since their King had usurped it; and that a descent even, if necessary, should be made on that regicide Island, to avenge the honor and the independence of the crown, and to oblige England, as well as its Prince, to pay a proper respect to the King. Madame de Pompadour, in this business, is certainly an excellent Frenchwoman. Monsieur le Duc de Choiseul in reply, told her, "that there was a settled ceremonial in Europe, which rendered it by no means an easy matter for one of the contracting powers to effect a change in its favor;" he said, "that the topic of precedence was of all others the most delicate and the most arduous in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and that custom had long sanctioned the giving to the King of England the title of King of France." "I would have tolerated it at the peace of 1748," replied Madame de Pompadour, "when the King would have

peace on *any* terms : but now are we to lose not only colonies, but our titles as well as our honor? But pray, after all, *who* is really to have the precedence?" The Duke de Choiseul—"The King of England, according to the established custom of diplomatic *étiquette*." Madame de Pompadour—"Say rather the *King of France*; since, according to the *étiquette* you speak of, the King of England is called so; for it is ridiculous that a King who, after all, is but a half sort of a King, like that of the English, and who has but eight millions of subjects, can pretend even to an *equality*, much less a superior rank to a Monarch who has twenty millions of souls subject to his empire, with the whole French Nation protesting against it. What will the Parisians and all Europe say of us, if we permit the King of England, in the Treaty we are about to sign with him, to take from Louis the XVth his title of King of France, and substitute that of the Most Christian King? Suppose, Sir, I were to advise you to make an exchange, and to add to this title of Most Christian King, that of King of

England, don't you imagine that in reading over the treaty, the English would be most indignant? Will you permit a treaty couched in these terms to be signed?

Duc de Choiseul—"Louis the XIVth permitted it."

Madame de Pompadour—"It is incredible that Louis le Grand would have permitted that the successor of Henry the Eighth, the executioner of the Queens of England, the successor of Mary, who steeped the Island in the blood of the Protestants; of Elizabeth, who shed the blood of the Catholics, and beheaded a Queen Dowager of France, her sister, the reigning Queen of Scotland, of Cromwell, the assassin of Charles the 1st, of William, the usurper of the throne of a legitimate Prince, should, in a treaty, dare with him to assume the tone of superiority, and of precedence. I know very well what I am talking of. The blood of the House of Bourbon is august; the blood of the Kings of England is ignoble and contaminated. The English people are of all people the most

ferocious. Every exertion must be used to change this humiliating *étiquette*. The very comparison alone of a King of France to a King of England would be insulting—can ferocity and civilization ever be compared together?”

The Duc de Choiseul—“ When Louis the XIVth humbled the English, he could not change this ceremonial; it has been handed down to us, and the present circumstances are not favorable to a change; besides, the treaty contains many articles much more disagreeable than that; they are the necessary consequences of the present circumstances; but I have promised the King that those circumstances shall be changed.”

CHAPTER XVII.

Two portraits of Madame de Pompadour; one in her youth, the other in her decline of life. Uncommon variations of her features. She studied the art of arranging a countenance; her astonishing success.

AT the time that Madame d'Etioles succeeded in attracting the attention of the Monarch, she was said to be one of the most beautiful, if not *the* most beautiful woman of the capital. She had in her physiognomy such a mixture of vivacity and of tenderness, and she was so perfectly, at the same moment, what might justly be termed a pretty woman, and a fine woman, that the junction of these two qualities, which are so rarely met with in the same person, had made her a sort of phenomenon.

I do not so much dwell on the outline of

her countenance, as the perfect command she had, and the astonishing pliability of her features and their expression. This woman had studied her own countenance with such success, that she could throw into it every expression that circumstances required, and she could dress up her features at pleasure:

Did she wish to draw the attention of the King? She assumed the forms of beauty by merely preserving the calmness and tranquillity of her natural countenance, and this calm aided the display of her numerous fine features.

Did she wish to render this tranquil air more seducing? She had recourse to the astonishing variability of her eyes, and of every feature in her face, and to those natural movements which skilful connoisseurs term vivacity; and this addition rendered the beauty of her divine figure more striking.

Madame de Pompadour, was therefore a fine woman by nature and at will, or hand-

some and lively, either separately or alternately; this was the fruit of lessons that her mother had given her by the means of actresses, celebrated courtesans, preachers, and lawyers. This diabolic woman had searched amongst all those professions which require striking and varied physiognomy, for persons capable of giving lessons of their art to her daughter, that she might truly make her "*a morsel for a King*"—a morsel that would govern a weak prince, who was already termed, in the familiar circle of Madame de Etioles, "*King Pétaut*"* (Le Roi Pétaut); in short, to make of her a woman so irresistibly seducing, that, without endeavouring so to do, she had in her youth rendered her husband passionately enamoured of her person, as afterwards designing so to do, she inspired the King with the same sentiments.

Exclusive of the charms of a beautiful and intelligent face, beaming with vivacity,

* A weak name is French, meaning an insignificant weak personage.

Madame de Pompadour possessed, in the most supreme degree, the art of changing her features; and this novel arrangement, equally skilful as attractive, was another result of her studies of the relative connections between the mind and the physiognomy.

That languishing and sentimental tone of voice which is so pleasing, and which, in certain circumstances, has such power over all mankind without exception, was so peculiar to Madame de Pompadour, that she could assume it at pleasure, and that with such effect, that she possessed, what is rarely to be found at Court, and what in literature is entitled, *the gift of tears*; but this gift the lady only possessed in the same manner as excellent players possess it, in the presence of an observing audience, who mark the impression that they seem to feel. Louis the XVth, in this point of view, formed the audience of Madame de Pompadour; how then was it possible that a King thus indolent and inactive should resist the sway of an actress of this kind, when this dangerous woman, according

as circumstances required, or at her pleasure, could be handsome and pretty, (*belle & so-lie*) at the same time; or not only extremely handsome and pretty, but also remarkable for her vivacity or her languor? These different characters formed, when necessary, the variations of her countenance. She could be at will, haughty, imperious, tranquil, coquettish, froward, sensible, curious, attentive, according as she gave to her eyes, her lips; or her forehead such an inflexion, or such a motion, or such a degree of openness; so that, without altering the attitude of her body, her pernicious face was a perfect Proteus.

What a pity it was that with so many various beauties, there should have been, and that in the very centre of so many different physiognomies, a disgusting defect.—Madame de Pompadour's lips were pale and colorless, which was the consequence of a trick she had of perpetually biting them, and that to such a degree, that she burst the small and imperceptible veins, which give the lips their *vermilion*.

tint ; and when she was not biting them, or had not bitten them for some time, they looked brown and dirty.

Whilst it was possible to make the Court believe that she had a natural color, Madame de Pompadour made scarcely any use of rouge, or at most a very light tinge; and in those days she had the folly to decry not only the use of rouge, but the ladies who used it. Her eyes have naturally an air of such brilliancy, that it seems as if a spark issues from them when she looks at any one; they are of an hazle color; her teeth are very beautiful, as well as her hands.—As to her shape, it is elegant, very taper, of middling size, and perfectly straight. She is so conscious of all this, that she takes the greatest pains to set it off with all the aid of art. She has invented negligés, which have become a general fashion, and which are called Pompadour robes, the forms of which are such that they resemble a Turkish vest, sitting close to the neck, and buttoning beneath the wrist; they are adapted to shewing off the bosom, and as they

not close to the form, display all the beauties of the shape, whilst they seem to hide them.

But besides this, she disguises herself as a country-girl, as a milk-maid, a nun (so disguise), a farmer's or a gardener's wife, to surprise and excite * the king

As to her conduct and carriage, as lady of honor to the Queen, she never could be, nor ever will be any thing but a Grisetle—for *her manners are bourgeois*. Monsieur de Mairépis has told her so, and he has gone further, for in the songs he made on her, he told her that she had received the education of a trull. The king, who at first found his feelings hurt by her vulgarity, was obliged to remark to his courtiers, " I am well aware that she wants polishing, but a mistress is absolutely necessary for me, if only to put a stop to the intrigues of those who are perpetually aspiring to that situation, and if I had taken one

of finished manners, I might probably not have found the same charms that I have discovered in this woman."

It was said, both by the King and Monsieur le Normant, that she had a great deal of boldness of another sort; but as I intend that these anecdotes shall be published at a proper time, it is very useless for the public that I enter into these particulars, which could only be of utility to the King's purveyors.

As to the internal affections of the soul of the Marchioness, it is well known that she has no care but for the present; the future sometimes interests her, but as she does not believe in a futurity, she cares very little either what will be said, or what will be written about her after her death. She has a favorite adage that she is ever repeating, "After us the flood."

Solely occupied with the present, and eager after praise, flattery, and respect, real or feigned, submission voluntarily extorted, she

presents herself in a saloon of company, takes her seat at table, or enters a circle with the arrogant air of a bold and presuming woman, who seems to say to those around her, "*Here I am, it is I.*" This is the portrait I sketched of her twelve years ago—Now for the one I drew of her in 1756, when she was about thirty-seven or thirty-eight years old.

What decrepitude! What a change in her figure! What filth in her countenance!—She duly makes a practice of burying her face under a layer of white and red, her vivacity is become grimace, a sort of Sardonian grin, and her natural ingnor, a complete deadness, she imagines, as do all the Court ladies, that under a dazzling coat of rouge, she can disguise the wrinkles in her face. She has still large and fine eyes, but what a look issues from those two roots! in her every thing is united that can serve to exhibit the appearance of a bad woman! Her emaciated frame, and the sallowness of her complexion, were so many warnings from nature that the machine was giving way. She then became much more

dangerous, more restless in society, and more difficult to be pleased. She refrained altogether from going to Paris, and she no longer presumed to show herself at Court with the same audacity as before. She covered her face with white, red, and black ; the time passed at her toilet, and in dressing herself, became daily more tedious, in proportion as the task of making up her face became more difficult and more complicated. She saw, for some time before, that disease was coming on, but she had nothing in her mind or conscience that inspired her with resignation.

Her illness is long and painful, and if, as has been said, it is the effect of poison, it is at least a very slow one.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Death of Madame de Pompadour. State of France. Interior Factions of the Court.

ONE should not rejoice at the death of any person. In speaking of the death of Madame de Pompadour, we must, notwithstanding, feel happy in the deliverance of the King and his kingdom.

How little did Louis XV. appear in comparison with Madame de Pompadour! and if he had but known it, he would have broken his chains fifteen years ago. The public, ever fond of attributing the death of remarkable personages to some secret causes, did not fail to say that she was the victim of conspiracy.

It would be much more natural to attribute her slow fever, to the perpetual con-

strait she lived in ; to the affronts which she, or those belonging to her, received in the Capital ; to the oppositions she met with in her plan of ruining the Jesuits ; to her actual situation with Monsieur de Choiseul ; to the shameful treaty concluded with England ; to the degradation of France ; to the state of the finances ; to the sarcasms from Berlin ; to the victories and the tone of the King of Prussia, who is her tormentor ; to the fresh troubles which are breaking out in the Parliaments ; and to her constant fear of the death of the King, and of her being sent to pine away her life in a convent, by the orders of the Dauphin, whenever that event shall happen.

She had been the King of France : Louis the XVth was only the titular guardian of his crown : the fear of losing her power, and becoming a bourgeoisie of Paris, was a source of perpetual torment to her. And she never saw a Jesuit, after she had succeeded in ruining their society, but she figured him to be an assassin or a poisoner ; nor could she rest till she had effected their banishment.

She had not the satisfaction of outliving His Royal Highness the Dauphin, but the Duc de Choiseul had the misfortune to see himself accused as the author of this truly deplorable loss, and also of being the author of the death of the Queen, and of the Dauphiness, as well as of that of Madame de Pompadour.

The various opinions formed by the public on the attempt to assassinate Louis the XVth, have already been mentioned, the Jesuits did not fail to attribute it to the Parliament, and the Parliament to the Jesuits and to the Clergy. A judgment might be formed from these contradictory accusations, which (at bottom) when thoroughly examined, prove nothing but the animosity of these factions.

But at the death of the Queen, of the Dauphiness, and of the son of Louis the XVth, almost every one, although without any sort of proof, joined in accusing the Duke de Choiseul; and this Minister, who was not ignorant of these reports, took no sort of notice

of them, nor did he punish a single individual for having propagated them.*

At the Archbishop's Palace, there is but one opinion as to his being guilty; and the Archbishop revenges himself with the most devout severity.

The Jesuits, rendered furious by what has happened to them, attribute these crimes to the Duc de Choiseul, and his sister the Duchess of Grammont. The Duke de Choiseul ruined the Jesuits, and the Jesuits, in their turn, wish to ruin the Duke.

All these circumstances are commented on at Court, and form the subject for songs,

* Monsieur de Choiseul, exiled by the intrigues of the party of the Duc d'Arguillon, said at Chanteloup, "Why do not they also accuse me of having poisoned Madame Du Barri?"

(This note was communicated to the Editor of these Memoirs by one of the persons concerned in the *Journal des Debats*, and who formerly was employed in the Cabinet of Monsieur de Choiseul, and Editor of the article published at the time, in this journal against that chapter of the *Memoirs of the Reign of Louis the XVth*, where there is question of the accusation of the different parties to the prejudice of the Duke de Choiseul, and of the Dauphin.)

which are sung even in the Duke's anti-chamber; these reports are distressing, as doubtless they are void of truth; but why will Monsieur de Choiseul be the leader of a party?

As to the Dauphin and his wife, he is unfortunately persuaded of the truth of it; he has said so to his intimates; and Monsieur de Meoli, Bishop of Verdun, makes no scruple of saying so.

If the Marchioness were alive, there is no doubt but she also would be accused; and a crime of this nature is certainly much more congenial to her character than to that of the Duke de Choiseul. It would not then have been said, that the King only consented to the destruction of the Jesuits, and to the death of his son, by way of punishing the attempt of Damicus, and preventing a repetition of it. Then it would have been said that the future, and not the past, was the cause of this perfidy, and that Madame de Pompadour did

not chuse to be shut up in a convent by the Dauphin, on his accession to the throne.

Madame de Choiseul is for treating all these accusations with dignified contempt; as to myself, who cannot think of accusing Monsieur de Choiseul, although he certainly is a great gainer by the death of the Dauphin, yet I must confess that the party of the devotees made him so suspected, that he will have no small difficulty in clearing himself, in their eyes, from the accusation which they are so industrious in propagating: the loss of their dearly beloved Jesuits has exasperated them too much for him to hope to be forgiven; and at the present moment they are exerting every nerve in Brittany, for Monsieur d'Aiguillon.

At Paris they will do the same against Monsieur de Choiseul, if they are not prevented. Monsieur de Choiseul will also do the same on his side in Brittany, and in Paris against the Duke d'Aiguillon; and the principal aim of each party, is to get the start of

the other in their way to the goal they both have in view

It is time to bring these memoirs to a conclusion, the years that follow, will give us other scenes. Both Monsieur d'Aiguillon and Monsieur de Choiseul have in their characters, and their opposite principles, enough to occupy the Court, the Capital, France itself, and all Europe

They will put all the universe into motion, because they are both actuated by that ambition, which sements discords between mankind and between Empires.

Monsieur de Choiseul has attached to his party all the Free-thinkers, the Parliaments, the Political Bishops, the Jansenists, Austria, and the King, whom he governs, he has also his views on the children of the Dauphin, he wishes to form a Clergy of his own

Monsieur d'Aiguillon has the support of the daughters of the King, of the Dauphin

when living, of the 'ex-Jesuits,' of the Archbishop of Paris, of the Sulpiciens, of the Devotees of the Court and of the City, of the Molinists, of the Grand Council, and of the Religious Bishops.

He wishes to gain over Louis the XVth, who is already wavering between the two parties. His inclination will lead him to attach himself to the most religious of the two, to that which is most attached to the prerogatives of his authority, and to that which will leave him to enjoy his Mistresses in tranquillity.

Such is the state of the Court of France, in January, 1767.

The following Chapters were joined to the Memoirs in separate sheets, and as they appear in some measure connected with them, they have been added to the work.

THE
WILL AND TESTAMENT

OF THE

MARCHIONESS DE POMPADOUR,

DATED NOVEMBER 13, 1757.

IN the name of the Father, and of the Son,
and of the Holy Ghost.

I, Jane Antoinette Poisson, Marchioness
of Pompadour, wife of Charles William le
Normant, Esq. but living in a *state* of separation
from him, have made and written this
my present Will and Testament, which I
desire to be strictly executed.

I recommend my soul to God, beseeching
him to have mercy on me, to pardon me my
sins, and to grant me the grace of repentance,
that I may die in such sentiments as may

render me worthy of his mercy, hoping to appease his justice through the merits of the precious blood of Jesus Christ my Saviour, and by the powerful intercession of the Holy Virgin and of all the Saints in Paradise.

I desire that my body may be taken to the Convent of the Capuchins, in the Place Vendôme, at Paris, without any external pomp ; and that it may be buried in the vault of the chapel which was granted to me in their church.

I bequeath to Monsieur Collin, as a token of gratitude for his attachment, an annuity of six thousand
 livres - - - - - 6000

To Monsieur Quesnay four thousand
 livres - - - - - 4000

To Monsieur Nesmes three thousand
 livres - - - - - 3000

To Lefevre, my game-keeper, twelve
 hundred livres - - - - - 1200

To my three waiting women, to Mademoi-

selle Jeanneton, to my three valets-de-chambre, to my cooks, under-cooks, maitre d'hotel, butler, and porter, to each of them, the interest of a capital of five hundred livres, at ten per Cent.; and to explain my intentions still more clearly, I shall give, as an example, Mademoiselle Labbaty, who has been in my service for twelve years; if I die in my present illness, she is to receive a life-annuity of 600 livres, making twelve times fifty, at ten per Cent. on a capital of 500 livres, as it is my intention that every additional year she remains in my service her annuity is to be increased 50 livres.

I bequeath to my lacqueys, coachmen, Swiss, chairmen, porters, gardeners, chamber maids, &c. the capital of 300 livres, the interest of which is to be paid to them in precisely the same manner as explained in the preceding article.

I bequeath to the rest of my servants who are not comprized in the two foregoing clauses, a capital of one hundred and fifty livres, the

interest of which is to be paid to them, as before-mentioned.

It is my further order, that all annuities, granted by me during my life-time, shall be strictly adhered to ; and further, I bequeath to my two waiting women all my wearing apparel and linen, my laces included.

I further give to my third waiting woman a present of three thousand livres, exclusive of her annuity ; and I further bequeath to the chamber maid, in daily attendance on my person, a gift of twelve hundred livres, exclusive of her annuity.

I further bequeath to each of my three valets-de-chambre three thousand livres, exclusive of their annuities.

I beg the King's acceptance of the present I here make him, of my Hotel in Paris, being capable of forming a palace for one of his grandchildren ; and I wish Monseigneur the Comte de Provence to be its possessor.

I also request his Majesty to accept of all my gems, engraved by Gay, whether bracelets, rings, seals, &c. as an addition to his collection of engraved gems.

As to the surplus of my property, real or personal, of whatever nature or wherever situate it may be, I give and bequeath it to my brother, Abel François Poisson, Marquis of Marigny, whom I make and constitute my sole heir; and in case of his death, I substitute in his place and stead, Monsieur Poisson de Malvoisin (Maréchal des Logis) Quarter-Master General to the Army, now Chef du Brigade of Carbineers, and his children.

I name as executor of this my present will and testament, the Prince of Soubise, to whom I give full power to act, and to do all that shall be necessary to put it in full force; and to set apart such sums, annuities and properties belonging to me, as he shall think fit, for the providing regular payments of all the life-annuities I have bequeathed; and in case he should not find them sufficiently

adequate for that purpose, I authorise him to take from the ready money produced by the sale of my personals the necessary sum, to be laid out in the purchase of funds or annuities, the yearly produce of which shall be appropriated to the discharge of the said life-annuities; as also to name and appoint any person he shall think fit, and at any salary he shall approve, to receive the revenues set apart by my testamentary executor, for the payment of the said life-annuities to each of the said legatees; which said legatees, by reason of the said delegation and destination for their use, shall have no claim, pretension or mortgage on any of the residue of my property.

Although the office which I now leave to Monsieur de Soubisse is of a nature to give him pain, yet he must look on it as a certain mark of that confidence with which his probity and his virtues have inspired me. I beg him to accept of two of my rings; the one, my large sea-green coloured diamond; the other engraved by Gay, representing friend-

ship. I flatter myself he will never part with them, and that they will serve to remind him of that person who, of all others in the world, had the tenderest regard for him

(Signed) JANE ANTOINETTE POISSON,
MARCHIONESS OF FOMFADOLE.

Done at Versailles,
The 14th of November, 1757

On the back is written

I bequeath to Abel François Poisson, my brother, Marquis of Marigny, my estate of the Marchioness Peerage of Menars, and its appurtenances, in the same condition as it shall be in on the day of my decease, and to his children and grandchildren, in the male line, and always beginning with the eldest. Should he have no sons, but only daughters, the bequest shall be void, and the estate shall be divided amongst them

In the case of my brother's dying without heirs, I put in his place and stead, and on the same conditions, Monsieur Poisson de Malvoisin, now Chef-de-Brigade of the Carbineers.

(Signed) JANE ANTOINETTE POISSON,
MARCHIONESS OF POMPADOUR.

At Versailles,
The 30th of March, 1761.

CODICIL.

TOYNE

WILL OF MADAME DE POMPADOUR.

I will and bequeath to the following persons, as a token of friendship and in remembrance of me—

To Madame du Roure the portrait of my daughter, in a box set with diamonds; although my daughter had not the honor of being related to her, it will serve to put Madame du Roure in mind of the regard I had for her.

To Madame la Maréchale de Mirépaux my new watch set with diamonds.

To Madame de Château de Renaud a box, with the King's picture set in diamonds, that is finishing for me.

To Madame la Duchesse de Choiseul a silver box, set in diamonds.

To Madame la Duchesse de Grammont a box, with a butterfly of diamonds.

To Monsieur le Duc de Gontault two hearts of rose-colored and white diamonds, joined together by a knot of green diamonds, and a cornelian box, which he always much admired.

To Monsieur le Duc de Choiseul an aquamarine diamond, and a black figured box.

To Monsieur le Maréchal de Soubisse a ring, engraved by Gay, emblematic of friendship; it is an exemplification of his feelings, as well as my own, ever since I have known him.

To Madame de Vamblemont my set of emeralds.

If I have omitted any of my servants in

my will, I request my brother to supply the omission, by providing for them, and I hereby confirm my said will and testament, hoping that he will approve of the codicil, which is dictated by friendship, and which has been written at my desire by Monsieur Colin, having only strength enough to sign it.

(Signed)

THE MARCHIONESS OF POMPADOUR.

At Versailles,

The 12th of April, 1766.

Note—The originals of the said Will and Codicil have been placed in the care of Mons. Baron the younger, Notary Public, by a note of the 10th of April, by which act Monsieur Colin has declared, that Madame de Pompadour, after having dictated to him and signed the above bequests, gave him orders, verbally, to distribute to the poor the money that he would find in her writing-desk, and for the regulating of which distribution, he would find in the same writing-desk, a memorandum, indicative, by initial letters, of

the names of those persons to whom it was the intention of the Marchioness that the money should be given.

And further, that she wished to reward, in a liberal manner, the King's physicians, surgeons and apothecaries, who had attended her during her illness; and lastly, that it was her wish that 3000 livres should be given to Madame Bertrand, her nurse, with whose attentions to her she was much pleased.

MEMORIAL

ON THE

ECONOMISTS.

THE annuity that Madame de Pompadour bequeathed by her will to Doctor Quesnay, and the marked friendship she always shewed to him, caused it to be asked, after the death of Madame de Pompadour, what were the causes leading to the intimate connection that subsisted between her and this physician, particularly as the economists look up to him as their patriarch.

Quesnay was, by birth, the son of a day-labourer. he had the ability with very little help to acquire a knowledge of physic, and by his merit, became first physician to the king, his simplicity and his good sense recommended him to Madame de Pompadour, and the king was also fond of him, from the

difference of his principles, his conduct, and his character to those of the courtiers; exclusive of which he had great mildness of manner, and an agreeable exterior. The King in raising him to the rank of nobility, gave him three hearts ease (*pensées*) for his arms. And in taking them from a vase of flowers that stood on the mantle-piece in Madame de Pompadour's apartment, this Prince presented them with his own hand to the doctor, saying with a great deal of grace and ready wit, "The arms I give you are very appropriate."

The simplicity of this man, and the rusticity of his systems, appeared, it is said, to the ignorant and discontented, two probable channels, to interest Madame de Pompadour in the project of a revolution against the noblemen of the Court, who were almost all of them great land-owners, and whom Madame de Pompadour was far from being a friend to, whilst she lived. The secret projects of the economists tended to nothing less than to make the actual system of finance and practical *agricole*, to be regarded as Gothic institutions; and it was

insinuated that if the whole burthen of the taxes were laid, as was the plan of that party, on the land-owners amongst the Clergy, the Nobility, and the third Estate, a revolution would take place, that would do away all privileges as well as all abuses. It is well known what difficulties the Duke, as first minister, involved himself in, as well as all those who wished the taxes to be levied on all property without distinction of persons. And what might be dreaded, if the whole weight of taxes were thrown on the land-holders alone, without exception or privilege?

Louis the XVth had already been cautioned not to lay a tax on the proprietors of lands; and had been told that it would be the ruin of the Monarchy. The manner in which this was proved, or attempted to be proved to him, (for here is an extract from the original) here follows:—

“ Father his Majesty will leave the taxes as they now are, and then France will be, as it has been, the richest kingdom of the Uni-

verse ; with the exception of the expences of the State, which must some day be diminished ; as must also the taxes, which in the end must be reduced.

“ Or else your Majesty must subject the Clergy and the Nobility to be taxed in the same manner as the third Estate, and as is the custom in Languedoc, &c.

“ But how will your Majesty manage when you require the Parliaments to register the edict that authorizes an increase of taxes ? There you will find insurmountable difficulties.

“ Your Majesty is only certain of the compliance of Parliament, when the taxes required, are to be paid by the third Estate : and the reason of this compliance is simple, because the Parliament is not to pay them. But if you order that he who is to pay the tax, shall be the person who lays it on, and who shall enforce the payment, the dispute will have no end ; it will be refused, or at all events contested. The better way therefore is, that matters should be left as they are, and that he who

does not himself pay, shall be the one to enforce payment from others, unless your Majesty prefers incurring the dangers of a refusal.

“ Let us suppose that the systems of the economists are realized ; it will then happen that every land-holder will pay his tax at the rate of a marc the livre, on his property.

“ But as the Nobility, the Clergy, the Peers, the Parliaments are the principal land-owners, the edict that should take from Monsieur Le Due, or Monsieur le President, 20,000 livres per annum, as an increase of taxes, would be an edict the Duke or the President would refuse to register, and your Majesty would fall into a state of dependence on the great and rich land-proprietors, in the same manner as a Doge of Genoa, or of Venice, whose power of levying taxes, depends on the will of the rich persons on whom the tax is to fall.

“ The economists are so aware of the political events depending on their systems, that it is said they have already digested a plan for

calling together the States General, to consist wholly of men of great property, either to pass an act of Bankruptcy as to what relates to the past, if the payment of the debts of the State should be declared impossible, and exceeding the balance of the receipts ; or to limit the King's expences, as in England, to a certain fixed sum. The plan of the economists, as I have been assured by one who is well acquainted with them, and who has been initiated into this mystery, is to give us a monarchy, subject to the controul of the rich.

“ As to Doctor Quesnay, this good man is sincerely grieved in secret at what he sees going forward at Court, which really will tend to a terrible bankruptcy, contrary to the wishes and in opposition to the intentions of the King ; but he is very far, as well as the leading men of his party, from wishing to overturn the actual state of things ; although I cannot say the same of many of the other members of this association. They wished during the life of Madame de Pompadour, to make use of her

concealed enmity to the great, as a means of forwarding the success of their schemes and speculations. The King, fortunately, is not unacquainted with the consequences of a revolution in the system of finance, and what he has heard of Law is fresh in his recollection.'

NOTE
ON THE CLERGY,
AND ON THE
LIST OF CHURCH PREFERMENTS.

MADAME DE POMPADOUR being dead, many very secret circumstances transpired, which, whilst she was alive, no one dared to speak of.—The very walls have tongues at Court, and they are not echoes to be depended on.

The inflexible character of the late Monsieur de Mirépoix, Minister of the list of church-preferments, (*feuille des Bénéfices*) was not readily forgotten. The King, who was always averse to any difference with the Devotees, entrusted him with great powers.—He filled up the vacancies in the Clergy with pious men like himself; but not men of learning, for on that score, he himself was deficient. All these

men, or the greatest part of them, censure the life that the King leads, and particularly the behaviour of Madame de Pompadour, and the tone she dares to assume in religious matters. They are exasperated beyond measure at her degrading the character of the King, and perverting his conscience—for he is naturally devout, and stands in great awe of the judgments of God.

Madame de Pompadour, who wished to find a successor to Monsieur de Mirepoix, of not quite so rigid a turn of mind, presented a list of candidates to the King for his choice; and she put at the head of this list the name of Monsieur de Jaucourt, who came to Court as bearer of the grievances and complaints of his Province. She had a private interview with him at the time, and was much pleased with him. Her reasons for giving him the preference were, because he was known to be unconnected with any party; and because she knew, through the medium of the Police, that he was hated by the courtiers of the Rue

St. Honoré; that he gave them suppers, &c. and consequently was neither a fanatic, or an hypocritical devotee. So that there is a wonderful analogy, as may be seen, between a Royal Mistress and a Prelate of this sort. "And is it possible," said the Marchioness to the Lieutenant of Police, "that this Bishop was found with a girl of the town?" "A girl of the town!" replied the magistrate; "why he was found with a collection of *seven*!"

His Royal Highness the Dauphin was outrageous at the choice of the Bishops given us by the Prelate; he gave it as his opinion, (although he said but little) that the intrigues, by means of which he became minister of the church preferment (*feuille*), were connected with the plan of destroying Religion.—It is even said that proofs of irreligion were required by Madame de Pompadour, previous to obtaining her consent to the nomination of certain Prelates, whose names I shall not mention. After this, let me ask, if morality and religion are necessary to our welfare, what is to

become of us with such Marchionesses and such Prelates? The King, fortunately, will have no more mistakes, at least under that title.

Monsieur de Jarente has not more exterior piety than is necessary. He began his career by shewing great attention to the Jesuits; and he continued the same cautious and circumspect line of conduct when he became a Bishop. His prudence, in never joining himself interfering in litigations and contentions, is known to the King; and in that point of view he is a man calculated for the present times: but he is detested by the Jesuits and the Sulpicians, who say every thing that is bad of him; and in fact, it is certain that his indifference has done much harm to Religion, and his scandalous private life has fixed an indelible stain on his ministry.

OF MADAME DE POMPADOUR,

AND

THE FREE THINKERS.

(*DES ESPRITS FORTS.*)

IT was foreseen that after her death, this class of men would forget their secret protectress.

The King is more than religious; he is in the greatest agonies as to the truth of Christianity, when he reflects on his mode of life. Madame de Pompadour was unceasingly occupied in diverting his melancholy, and to set aside those inclinations which he had shewn, from time to time, of sending her from him. She took care to remove the sermons and religious books, which he frequently had in his hand from his little library, and used to tell him, “that reading made him lose his color.”

As a clear conscience is not a convenient thing for "a King's morsel," Madame de Pompadour had imbibed lessons of infidelity in her domestic circles, when she was Madame d'Etioles. Her house was the rendezvous of all the Free Thinkers of the age, particularly Monsieur de Voltaire, who was a great favorite with her; and when she became fixed at Court, she sent for him; but perceiving that the Jesuits made a handle of her partiality to him, against her, she cooled in her regard for him, and made him believe she was forced to sacrifice him, to appease the storm. Monsieur de Voltaire, however, was always protected by her in secret, as well as by Monsieur de Choiseul; for he was looked on by both of them, as a man capable of giving sufficient employment to their declared enemies, the Jesuits and the Zealots of the Clergy.

As all the ministers, and all the mistresses of Kings, make the affairs of the State subservient to their own personal inclinations, every thing had a tendency in France, both

under the Marchioness, and under the Duke of Choiseul, to harass, degrade, and destroy Religion; and to encourage, to honor, and to protect all it condemns, and all it forbids. It is from the bosom of the State that those evils have their source, which tend to destroy its firmest supports.—The Government in France has been for many years, working its own destruction; it makes war against itself, as has been said by those who think seriously.

A speech of Monsieur de Voltaire's has been repeated to the King, which has made the deepest impression on the mind of the Monarch.—He caused Monsieur de Voltaire to be spoken to, in a mild manner, on the virulent and scandalous mode, in which he continues to persecute the Christian Religion, by way of revenging himself on the Bishops, through whose influence he was banished the Court.

The Lieutenant of Police spoke to him, in the most friendly and amicable manner; he listened to his observations, he replied to

them, and the Lieutenant of Police concluded by saying:—

“ But after all, Sir, you will never succeed in destroying the Christian Religion, neither by your writings, your raillery, nor your arguments.” “ That is what remains to be seen,” replied Monsieur de Voltaire, as he was going away.

This answer has confirmed the King in the belief he entertains, that the Philosophers aim at destroying the Monarchy as well as Religion, and in persecuting the ministers who form the first Political order of the State.

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Of Madame de Pompadour and the Free Thinkers

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